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Greek Foreign Minister Pays Unofficial Visit

Arrives 17 Feb

*AU1802170389 Tirana ATA in English
0756 GMT 18 Feb 89*

[Text] Tirana, February 18 (ATA)—The minister of foreign affairs of the Greek Republic, Karolos Papoulias, arrived on a friendly non official visit in the city of Sarande on February 17 at the invitation of the minister for foreign affairs of PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Reiz Malile.

At the Kakavija border point, the minister of foreign affairs of the Greek Republic, Karolos Papoulias, accompanied by the minister for foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reiz Malile, was welcomed by the vice-minister of foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka, and the chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of Sarande District, Kosta Kalojeri.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Greek Republic in Tirana, Spiridhon Dhokianos, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Athens, Izedin Hajdini.

Malile-Papoulias Talks

*AU1802203889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 18 Feb 89*

[Text] Continuing the talks started in Ioannina, Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of the Greek Republic, and Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, exchanged opinions in Sarande on the concrete possibilities of extending bilateral economic and trade cooperation, particularly in the border regions. They also discussed some aspects of contemporary international developments.

Accompanied by Reiz Malile, Karolos Papoulias today visited the Lukove State Agricultural Enterprise, where he was welcomed by its director, Vasil Anagnosti. The inhabitants of Lukove greeted the Greek foreign minister and bid him welcome. Vasil Anagnosti informed the Greek guests about the magnificent terracing work done by the youth in Lukove to transform the hills into large citrus and olive plantations. Karolos Papoulias described the scene as being a small paradise and said: We could not have imagined this if we had not seen it for ourselves. You have magnificent plans to double production here and will surely fulfill them. We rejoice at these successes and wish to extend our cooperation also in the field of agriculture.

Today Karolos Papoulias also went on a hunting expedition. This morning, Konstandin Yeoryiou, general secretary of the Greek Foreign Ministry, and other collaborators of the Greek foreign minister, accompanied by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Albania, visited Butrint and the Ksamil tourist center.

Papoulias Visits Gjirokaster

*AU1902204789 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 19 Feb 89*

[Text] Continuing his friendly unofficial visit, Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of Greece, accompanied by Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of Albania, went to the city of Gjirokaster. He was welcomed by Flamur Cani, chairman of the district's people's council executive committee, and other state authority cadres. He also spoke to many of the inhabitants while touring the city and they bid him welcome. The guest from Greece then went to view the Enver Hoxha monument. He said that the monument was a masterly work and admired its position on one of the most beautiful hills of Gjirokaster.

From Gjirokaster, the Greek guest went to Permet, where he was welcomed by Resul Zani, chairman of the district's people's council executive committee. The inhabitants greeted the Greek foreign minister warmly. Karolos Papoulias visited the hall where the Antifascist National Liberation Congress was held. He wrote the following note in the visitors' book: It is with special feelings of admiration that we acquainted ourselves with an historic and decisive moment in the history of the Albanian people. In this hall, led by your great leader, Enver Hoxha, you adopted decisions pertaining to the struggle against fascism and your future, as well as to the cooperation among the Balkan peoples. This is an homage to the ideals for which thousands of ordinary people fought and fell in Albania and in Greece.

Karolos Papoulias was accompanied by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Konstandin Yeoryiou, general secretary of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Izedin Hajdini, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Athens, and Spiridhon Dhokianos, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Greece in Tirana, were also present.

Before leaving Permet, Karolos Papoulias said:

Unfortunately, all good things must come to an end. My beautiful visit to your beautiful country comes to an end today. I am leaving with a sense of profound satisfaction, not only for the talks, but also for the exchange of visits between the two foreign ministers of our countries. These visits brought out precisely that new spirit and atmosphere we have created in Greek-Albanian relations, which are a stable and firm prerequisite for the better days that are still to come, for the visit that Prime Minister Papandreou will make to Tirana and all that we intend to achieve for the good of our peoples, who have been friends historically and constitute an element of stability in the Balkans.

From the bottom of my heart, I would like to thank my friend, Mr Malile, as well as your district's chairman and all those who made my visit so impressive. I would like to promise that, as in the past, so in future, too, I will continue to be a tireless worker for the promotion of Greek-Albanian friendship, which I consider to be of great importance, not only for our peoples, but also for the peoples of the Balkans and Europe.

I thank you very much, and I would like to express my profound gratitude for the hospitality you accorded the Greek delegation.

Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of Greece, returned today to his country. He was bid farewell by Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of Albania; Kosta Kalojeri, chairman of the Sarande District People's Council Executive Committee; and others.

Athens Radio Reviews Visit

NC1902214789 Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1930 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Text] Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias and his Albanian counterpart, Reiz Malile, today expressed their satisfaction over the progress of inter-Balkan cooperation and Greek-Albanian relations as a whole following their informal meetings in Ioannina and Gjirokaster. Dhimitrios Stamou, Greek Radio Television 1 correspondent, reports:

[Begin recording] [Stamou] Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias' 2-day informal visit to Albania concluded today with a visit to Gjirokaster. During his 2-day visit, Papoulias held continuous friendly talks with Albanian Foreign Minister Reiz Malile on bilateral relations and inter-Balkan cooperation. Although the talks were informal, the Albanian foreign minister described these as substantive. Papoulias also had the opportunity to visit many places, particularly those where persons of Greek extraction live, such as Sarande yesterday, and today, here, in Gjirokaster, where he walked through picturesque narrow streets and spoke with many people. While speaking in Gjirokaster, Papoulias referred to Greek-Albanian relations:

[Papoulias] Indeed, the progress in Greek-Albanian relations during the last 4 years is really very important; it is something that one could not imagine a few years ago. We have lived through a cold war situation but now have created a climate of confidence and cordiality in our relations. We have signed a large number of agreements. We believe that the basis we have created is an omen that our future relations will develop at this fast pace, and, above all, within this climate of absolute and mutual confidence and friendship, and in the awareness of the historical necessity that our people must live in peace and in the spirit of cooperation. I believe that the meetings we are expecting at summit level between our countries—I mean our prime minister's visit to Tirana—will be an important, decisive chapter for our bilateral relations, which have developed in recent years.

[Stamou] Malile stated that his Greek counterpart's visit is of exceptional significance because it falls within the results of the political dialogue, the goal of which is the strengthening of inter-Balkan cooperation and particularly the steps toward promoting the two people's friendship, which embodies their aspiration to live peacefully.

After visiting Tepelene, the two foreign ministers arrived in Permet. The welcome accorded Papoulias has been touching. The people accompanied him to the historical museum where the first nationl liberation anti-fascist congress was held under Enver Hoxha's leadership in May 1944. They also visited the restaurant where Malile hosted a luncheon for Papoulias.

To conclude, the two foreign ministers' discussions during these 4 days has made those of us who observed the talks feel that they have contributed to inter-Balkan cooperation and to Greek-Albanian friendship. [end recording]

BCP Politburo Meets With Intelligentsia

AU2002164089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] The BCP Central Committee Politburo held a meeting with representatives of the Bulgarian intelligentsia at the Boyana Residence in Sofia today.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov delivered an introductory speech on the report, distributed in advance, entitled: Restructuring Our Society—The Task and Responsibility of Our Intelligentsia.

Scientists, writers, journalists, musicians, painters, artists, and numerous other distinguished figures of our cultural and intellectual spheres participated in the debates on Comrade Todor Zhivkov's introductory speech and on the report.

They all expressed their high appreciation for the creative dialogue on the most important problems of restructuring in which the party has engaged, and voiced support for the conclusions and evaluations on the tasks and responsibilities of the intelligentsia in the revolutionary innovation of the motherland.

Further on Meeting

AU2002225889 Sofia BTA in English 2135 GMT 20 Feb 89

["BCP CC Politburo Meets Intellectuals"—BTA headline]

[Excerpts] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—A dialogue pervaded with an awareness of a common undertaking, on which Bulgaria depends for her future: This is a possible nutshell description of the atmosphere of the meeting which the Politburo of the CC of the BCP began today with representatives of the intelligentsia: scientists, writers, artists, actors, journalists, musicians, and educators.

The meeting started in the morning and went on late into the afternoon. Part of a long-standing tradition, it had an added importance becuase the participants did not just discuss topical issues but a historical problem which puts to a crucial test the sense of responsibility and the civic duty of the entire intelligentsia.

The meeting was opened and chaired by Mr Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP. Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, made some introductory remarks on the report which had been handed out in advance.

He spoke about the decisive contribution of the Soviet "perestroyka" for the renewal of socialism, about the objectively operating laws in socialist construction at the new stage, about the place and the role of the men of art, science, culture and education in the processes of renewal, about the future of their cultural unions. [passage omitted]

Scientists, writers, journalists, musicians, artists, and actors took the floor in today's debate on the report and the introductory speech. They all welcomed the creative dialogue which the party has begun on the burning problems of restructuring and supported the conclusions and the assessments on the vocation and the responsibility of the intelligentsia in the revolutionary renewal of this country. The meeting will continue tomorrow.

Zhivkov Delivers Report

AU2002205089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Feb 89

["Summary" of report by Todor Zhivkov, at a meeting of the BCP Central Committee Politburo with representatives of the intelligentsia on 20 February at the Boyana Residence in Sofia: "Restructuring Our Society—The Task and the Responsibility of Our Intelligentsia"]

[Text] Our meeting is taking place at a time of exceptional importance and responsibility in the development of our country, in the development of socialism, and of the world as a whole, Comrade Todor Zhivkov states in his report.

The place and role of the intelligentsia in this process is of particular importance. The party has always treated the intelligentsia with respect. It has regarded and still regards the intelligentsia as an irrepleacable social force in building and developing new society. Nothing, absolutely nothing can replace this force, cast a doubt on its mission of creating cultural values, of developing our intellectual life, and of actively participating in the sociopolitical processes.

Our confidence is unshakable that the present cause of restructuring can only be successful if it becomes the cause of our national intelligentsia. We have adopted this confidence as a political principle. Under the new conditions, this principle should be elevated to a qualitatively new level. Periods of radical change in the development of a society have the peculiar feature that, along with their great importance for the future, they cast new light on the past development of processes and phenomena, and make it possible to elucidate numerous aspects of the past. In periods of radical changes, this is an objective necessity.

We will continue to rely on the intelligentsia, on its international thought and experience, on the processes taking place in the socialist countries, and especially on events taking place in the Soviet Union.

It is our duty to expand our international tradition and practical experience in accordance with the new historic realities. This is one aspect of the question. On the other hand, it is characteristic of the BCP to have grown up and developed as a vital political force, capable of adapting the Marxist-Leninist analysis to the specific conditions existing in the country, capable of developing appropriate solutions, and capable of solving urgent social problems.

In his report, Comrade Todor Zhivkov further stressed the ability of the BCP to mobilize its internal forces at all stages of its history, its capacity to cope with the existing realities in our countries and in the world.

Pointing out the historic role of the BCP Central Committee April Plenum held in 1956, the report analyzes the experience of building socialism and the successes and shortcomings throughout the period preceding the 13th BCP Congress.

The period of search, analysis, and synthesis during the 13th BCP Congress and over the period following it—especially at the July 1987 Plenum—are characterized by the realization and discussion of several problems, Comrade Todor Zhivkov continues.

In applying this approach we had to accomplish the next step: to adopt the strategy of renouncing the former model of socialism, which exhausted its possibilities.

The strategy of a profound innovation of our socialist society: As we see we have adopted a postulate which, so to speak, in its very roots presupposes revolutionary thought and action, which excludes the evolutionary approach and requires that we fully accomplish the deed of revolutionary restructuring, our first party and state leader declared in his report.

If we sum up this statement, we can say: We are advancing along a correct path, the path of profound revolutionary innovation. This progress is logical and our policy in restructuring is conforming to the requirements of this logic.

It is no secret that various strata and social groups in our country today are manifesting impatience in regard to the acceleration of the innovative processes, in regard to the achievement of real results. This gratifying fact demonstrates that the personal and social readiness for restructuring is increasing in our country.

However, we agree, and I hope you will agree with us, that such a profound restructuring process cannot be accomplished without appropriate preparation.

We could express this in a figurative way, Comrade Todor Zhivkov states further in his report. Our progress today is possible only if everything, absolutely everything, passes through the purgatory of revolutionary renewal.

The role of the intelligentsia in this process involves an exceptional sense of responsibility.

Restructuring—the task and responsibility of the intelligentsia—this is how we can define the place and role of the intelligentsia in our social life today.

What do we mean by this? We mean that it is no longer sufficient to regard the intelligentsia as the subject of the cultural sphere and it is no longer sufficient to regard restructuring in the intellectual sphere solely from the point of view of its internal needs and mechanisms. We mean that in our era, complicated processes are taking place in the spheres of material and intellectual culture.

We are talking about an irresistible process of comprehensive intellectualization in the production sector and in all other spheres of social life.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's report further states: Following the July plenum, we encountered numerous problems. Let us examine some of them. It is of vital importance today to scientifically analyze the new characteristic features of the capitalist world and to reveal the internal mechanisms of the evolution of capitalism and of its reproduction as a social system. As is known, we are also facing a new situation in analyzing the problems of present-day socialism.

The experience of the socialist countries shows that production relations cannot outstrip the production forces. They exert a tremendous impact on the development of production forces, but it is absurd to think that production relations can outstrip the production forces and automatically ensure their progress. This means creating difficulties and illusions.

On the other hand, for a long time we linked the development of socialism to the productive forces and to the mechanism of management, which resulted in economic, social, ideological, and political difficulties, in consequences which are in conflict with the principles and ideals of socialism.

It is clear today that socialist property should be regarded as one and indivisible, that it cannot be artificially divided into state-owned, cooperative, and other property.

Another question is related to the fact that the management of this property should be provided by a variety of forms.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov further points out: All these questions do not represent accidental episodes in the development of the socialist countries. Unfortunately, the questions are much more profound and serious since they are connected with the very origins of socialism, and affect socialism as a system.

Hence, the necessity of revising numerous postulates in the philosophy and theory of scientific socialism, in the economic sciences, and in the sphere of law. This reevaluation is the task of our scientific intelligentsia.

Let us examine the specific questions which are now of priority precedence and require a solution:

First, we cannot advance, and even less, restructure ourselves, unless we fully accomplish our historical development as a country and as a society.

Yes, we must really accomplish our development. Of course, this does not mean that we should repeat the development of capitalism in all its contradictions and cataclysms. The main thing for us is to accomplish, within the shortest possible period, all those achievements of human civilization which represent the universal experience of mankind developed by the contemporary world, and without which progress would be unthinkable. Anything else would be an illusion, the price of which is well known to us.

Second, we must discuss certain aspects of the present postulates, related to the stages in the development of our socialist society. It is well known that a series of tasks pertaining to the transitional period from capitalism to socialism have long since been resolved in our country. This is one of the historical results of building our new society.

At the same time, in regard to the main and decisive aspect of these questions—the development of productive forces and of the respective production relations—we have still to build the foundations of socialism in the economic, social, and cultural sectors.

From this point of view, we should determine the chief and new elements in the next stage of our development which is facing us, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out in his report.

It is evident that we should abandon the formula of developed socialist society.

At the July plenum we developed the postulate on the new model of our socialist society. The July model is a model of socialism and not of the next stage—communism—nor is it a model for the transitional period from capitalism to socialism.

Ours is a model of socialist society developing according to the appropriate objective laws and principles. In view of this, the task is to specify the essence of this stage today, Comrade Todor Zhivkov continues. We should explain the significance of this stage for the development of productive forces and production relations, for the functioning of our social system, and for the innovation of the superstructure and of intellectual life. As for the party and the other links of the subjective factor, I would like once more to stress that these questions should be discussed.

In the third part, Comrade Todor Zhivkov focused on the problem of the party as one of the questions raised at the present stage of development, and requiring an answer.

Our new postulate is well known, he stressed. The party is no tier in the system of the state power. We will consistently promote this postulate. It is particularly important today that the party restructure internally; that its leading organs and units be restructured; that the Communists themselves restructure; that the people are reached; that aristocratic attitudes, social climbing, and hypocrisy are overcome. It is necessary to take a stand on several issues of principle:

One of them is related to the party program and to its statute. In this connection, two aspects should be considered. The first aspect is the fact that we, and not only we, are adopting a new stand on the role and place of the Communist Party. It will implement its policy with new methods and means.

The other circumstance is related to the functioning of our social system. In this respect, the role of the Constitution and of the legislative system will be enhanced.

Fourth, it is beyond any doubt that the legal reform issue is one of the fundamental question of restructuring. Our stand on this question is categorical, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out. There is no restructuring outside the law and above the law. No one in the People's Republic of Bulgaria can place himself above the law. This concerns the party, the Central Committee, and the Politburo members themselves. In solving the problems of the legal superstructure, we realize that we are now in a period of constant transition and search for renewal, and that our views have not yet been clarified.

Fifth, another question pertains to the perfection of distribution relations. Above all, we must recall the basic principles for us as Marxist-Leninists. Under socialism, there is no and there can be no other concept of social equality and social justice other than the equality subject to distribution according to the quantity and quality of labor. Two opposite trends outlined themselves in the past implementation of this principle in our society. On the one hand, an extensive development of leveling distribution processes prevailed. On the other hand, though in a more narrow framework, a social stratification and property differentiation emerged, which was not always based on real labor achievements. The majority of the results of these processes are negative.

In the final analysis, this leads to alienation from labor, to social deformations, such as the establishment of a model of social justice and social inequality which is alien to our socialist society.

If we are willing to decisively restore the only correct principle of distribution according to labor, we cannot avoid the increase of differentiation. There is even more: We should stimulate this diffentiation. Naturally, this process will develop under the conditions of socialisn, and it is natural that it will be settled according to a specific method. We will neither permit a stratification of classes, nor social parasitism. Our society has strong enough levers to avoid similar distortions.

It is evident from all these facts how many new problems are now emerging. These problems should pass through the purifying strength of theory, of social thought, of the creative laboratory, of science, arts, and literature. We cannot mark any progress in restructuring, radicalize it, or give it the necessary impetus unless we correctly eludicate these problems. This is why the role of our intelligentsia today is by far more important and irreplaceable than it used to be in all previous periods of building socialism.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov further pointed out in his report that in optimally mobilizing the intellectual potential of contemporary generations of scientists and creative artists, we should by all means involve the new intellectuals emerging from the revolutionary renewal, because the future belongs to them.

As for society, it will create all material and cultural prerequisites for the expansion of forces on the intellectual front.

I would like to stress in particular, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out, that we do not divide the problems into forbidden and nonforbidden zones. Truth is the only criterion in scientific and artistic research. This is our postulate on the past and present, and on the future.

In view of solving the problems upon which the future of our science, culture, and intelligentsia depends, we are facing radical changes. These changes are related to the leadership and organization of intellectual life; they will involve the BCP Central Committee, the organs of the Council of Ministers, the public and other organizations.

Our society has all necessary resources available to achieve such radical change, and it will be achieved. Along with this, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated in his report, when we assume such a task, it is in accordance with our potential and our ambitions, as well as in accordance with our traditions, that the Bulgarian socialist intelligentsia be promoted to a qualitatively new summit achievement. The cultural values created in our country should be a worthy contribution to world civilization. Should this be an easy task? No, it will be far from easy. However, we must achieve it, and it should become the cause and thought of our intelligentsia. I think that the restructuring of the entire cultural sphere should proceed in this spirit, that the congresses of science and artistic culture and the congress of education should all be inspired by this postulate.

The report further states: There is no other goal today capable of elevating and inspiring our intelligentsia as the goal of elevating our cultural and intellectual life to the target of the July Concept. However, in order to resolve this we should advance even further. We should change the social status and the role of the intelligentsia, so that it can reach new social, political, and intellectual positions. In other words, this requires a more drastic change than has ever been accomplished throughout our socialist development. Evidently, this drastic change will be the same as a new cultural revolution in our country.

Comrades, in connection with all these statements, we should take into consideration the new conditions under which we are supposed to work. Under these new conditions, the effect of basically new factors is emerging, the majority of which will not [words indistinct]. What are these new factors?

The first factor is represented by the profound and complicated processes of restructuring, which exert their effect on all social groups and exert this effect in a multi-faceted way.

The second factor is the fact that the economic restructuring we are engaged in requires an intensification of the reform in the political superstructure, but not only from the structural point of view, as in the past, but from the point of view of the democratization of life.

The third factor is the so-called external factor, which has yet to enter restructuring and penetrate the people's consciousness. In full awareness and with scientific arguments, we are broadly expanding this factor in our country. We think that along with the positive effect, which is the most important one, we should take into consideration the difficulties we will encounter. However, the most important thing is to thoroughly revise our former views and approaches.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov, in his report, clarifies the stand of the BCP on political pluralism. We havealready proclaimed pluralism as one of our society's principles. Since different opinions and interests exist, pluralism will also exist.

What is the thing we cannot agree on? I think that in the spirit of the broad glasnost which we are implementing, in this spirit of democracy, it would be correct to frankly explain the reasons for our disagreement.

One, the formal aspect of the question is that in the spirit of our Constitution and the laws of our country, certain associations cannot be established if they have not been registered in the proper manner. This happens in every civilized country. Nowhere in the world are associations that are registered by so-called, say, foreign radio stations, recognized as legal.

The other aspect of the question is that ideal democracy, humanitarianism, and morality are incompatible with attempts at disseminating political intrigues, fanning hostilities among people, and so forth. It is evident that not only normal political practice, but also elementary rules of human relations, require the elimination of such attempts. We do not and have no intention of abolishing the class principle, the more so since living examples of the overthrown classes, who have not forgotten their past privileges, exist in our country. We will continue to unmask the attempts of those, who parting from gross class interests, are using outdated stereotypes and approaches, and are poisoning the international and domestic situation in our country, are relying on political outcasts and disgraced people in our country. Hence, the question is not of restricting democracy or not; it does not apply to the existence or nonexistence of glasnost.

Our stand is clear: The question is to preserve society against demagogy and political contamination, from dehumanization of human relations.

There is no doubt that in this case as well, our intelligentsia will reject with contempt and dignity all attempts at preaching national nihilism; at stimulating negative attitudes toward the native land, toward socialism, toward the customs of our country, and toward the Bulgarian people's ethics, toward everything sacred and honorable which many generations preceding us have created, and for which thousands of Bulgarian sons and daughters have died.

In closing his report, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out: An important prerequisite in implementing our intentions in restructuring is to ensure a tremendous social energy. New thinking, a new approach to analysis, a modern and qualified research, scientific approach, and broad democratic spirit—these are the things we need. I would like to stress once more in this respect that we are relying exclusively on our intelligentsia for this.

The struggle for a highly scientific spirit and cultural approach in all things assigns a particular role to the mass media. There should be no forbidden zones or territories for the mass media. We are comprehensively interested in enhancing their constructive and creative role in our civic society.

Last, but not least: We are struggling for a thorough restructuring of society. We are moving in a correct direction, and this progress is characterized by clear and undeniable logic. We realize that the results we are expecting will be neither easy nor prompt. The important thing is to direct all things toward the sacred goal we are pursuing: the qualitatively new renewal of socialism in our society.

EEC Approves Cooperation Talks With Bulgaria

*AU2102084589 Sofia BTA in English
0824 GMT 21 Feb 89*

["Bulgaria, E.C.: Negotiations on Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Brussels, February 21 (BTA correspondent)—At a meeting held last night, the Council of Ministers of the E.C. approved a mandate for starting official negotiations between the E.C. Commission and Bulgaria with the purpose of concluding an agreement on trade and economic cooperation.

The E.C. Commission requested a mandate for starting negotiations with Bulgaria on December 14 last year. It was specified that the future agreement between the Common Market and Bulgaria will cover trade in industrial and agricultural products and that the other noncommercial areas of cooperation will be agreed upon during the negotiations.

According to sources close to the Council of Ministers, the negotiations between Bulgaria and the E.C. could begin in the near future and be over in few months.

Polish Foreign Minister To Visit at End of Month

*AU1702181089 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 17 Feb 89*

[Text] At the invitation of Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov, Tadeusz Olechowski, minister of foreign affairs of Poland, will make a friendly working visit to Bulgaria at the end of February.

Iraqi First Deputy Premier Ramadan Arrives

*AU2102132889 Sofia BTA in English
1302 GMT 21 Feb 89*

[Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA)—Mr Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and first deputy prime minister of Iraq, arrived on an official visit of friendship here today.

The guest was welcomed by Mr Georgi Atanasov, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, who had invited him to the visit.

Official talks will begin later in the day.

Tanchev Departs for Japan for Hirohito Funeral

*AU2002155389 Sofia BTA in English
1523 GMT 20 Feb 89*

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—Mr. Petur Tanchev, first vice president of the State Council, today left for Japan to attend the funeral ceremonies for Emperor Hirohito.

Todorov, Delegation Return From Norway

*AU1802191589 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 18 Feb 89*

[Text] The Bulgarian parliamentary delegation led by National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov returned to Sofia this evening from Norway, where it had been on a 6-day visit at the invitation of the Storting, the Norwegian parliament.

Romanian Citizens Leave Sofia for Austria

AU1702180089 Sofia BTA in English 1633 GMT 17 Feb 89

["For Humane Reasons"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 17 (BTA)—As it is well known from the information in the press, since the middle of September 1988, in the building of the Embassy of Hungary in Sofia, there was a group of Romanian citizens who had expressed a wish to leave for Hungary. The group consisted of 12 persons, four children among them.

The Bulgarian side undertook a number of steps before Romania and Hungary so that they could find a positive solution of the problem between them. Unfortunately such a resolution was not found.

Led by humane reasons, the Government of Bulgaria agreed with the proposal of the International Committee of the Red Cross with headquarters in Geneva for the 12 persons to leave for Austria, with its cooperation and its documents for travel.

Today the group left on a plane of the AUA company for Vienna.

Meeting With Soviet Engineering Specialists

AU1702210789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] A meeting was held in Sofia today between Soviet and Bulgarian economic specialists from the machine-building industry. During the meeting, which was organized by the Social Management Institute of the BCP Central Committee and the Economics and Management Institute under the Ministry of Planning and Economy, talks were held and information exchanged on joint production and economic activity between the Ukrainian and Bulgarian enterprises.

This first meeting of its kind provided an opportunity to sign a number of agreements on technology exchange, joint production, and on entering third markets.

During the next few days, the group of Soviet specialists will visit enterprises in Plovdiv, Gabrovo, and Kazanluk.

Fruit-Growing Concern Formed With SFRY

AU1702123989 Sofia BTA in English 0829 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 17 (BTA)—Bulgarian and Yugoslavian farmers signed an association protocol in the town of Berkovitsa. The "Kom" Agroindustrial Complex, situated in northwest Bulgaria near the border with Yugoslavia, the Institute of Fruit Growing in Plovdiv and the "Belgrade" Agricultural Complex agreed on setting up an association. The association will produce virus-free seedlings for fruit-trees, vineyards and strawberry fields, will carry out engineering activity for the establishment of nurseries for these cultures and will sell their agricultural produce both in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and in third countries.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 3-10 Feb

AU1102204589

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the 3-10 February monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

In Sofia, Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received on 3 February Pavel Hrivnak, first deputy premier of the CSSR. (BTA 2035 GMT 3 Feb 89) In Sofia on 9 February, Atanasov received the manager of the Libyan Central Bank, Muhammad al-Zaruq Rajab. (BTA 1836 GMT 9 Feb 89)

In Sofia, Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received on 8 February the participants in a meeting of deputy heads of the international departments of Central Committees of socialist countries' communist and workers parties. (Sofia Domestic 1830 GMT 8 Feb 89) In Sofia on 9 February, Balev received a CPSU Central Committee delegation led by Yuriy Zuyev, (Sofia Domestic 1600 GMT 9 Feb 89) and Rafael Polanco, first deputy head of the international department of the Communist Party of Cuba. (Sofia Domestic 2030 GMT 9 Feb 89)

Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of planning and economy, ended cooperation talks in Sofia on 4 February with Pavel Hrivnak, first deputy premier of the CSSR. (BTA 1839 GMT 4 Feb 89)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, made an opening speech in Sofia on 7 February at a meeting of deputy chiefs of the international departments of the Central Committees of socialist countries' communist and workers parties. (Sofia Domestic 1830 GMT 8 Feb 89)

Vaclav Havel Trial Opens in Prague 21 Feb

LD2102111189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1000 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] The trial of Vaclav Havel started today at the Prague-3 court. He is accused of the criminal offense of incitement, according to paragraph 164 of the Criminal Law, and the criminal offense of obstructing the legal powers of a public official, according to paragraph 156, Section A of the Criminal Law.

Sentenced to 9 Months in Prison

LD2102153389 Hamburg DPA in German
1518 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—CSSR dramatist Vaclav Havel has been sentenced today by a Prague court to 9 months' imprisonment under intensified conditions. Havel was accused of "rowdyism" because he tried to lay flowers in Prague in the middle of January in memory of Jan Palach, the student who set fire to himself 20 years ago.

7 Accused of 'Hooliganism' on 16 Jan Tried

LD2102124789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1130 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] The trial of Jana Petrova, Otakar Veverka, David Nemec, Stanislav Penc, Petr Placak, Jana Sternova, and Alexander Vondra opened at the Prague-2 court today. The prosecution accuses them of committing the criminal offense of hooliganism in Wencelas Square on 16 January 1989, according to paragraph 202, Section 1 of the Criminal Law. Jana Petrova is also accused of the criminal offense of attacking a public official, according to paragraph 156, Section 2 of the Criminal Law.

The case against another accused person, Danuska Nemcova, for the criminal offense of hooliganism, according to paragraph 202, Section 1 of the Criminal Law, has been excluded from the joint trial due to her hospitalization, and will be dealt with individually.

Laws To Maintain Law, Order Strengthened

LD1702191789 Prague CTK in English
1647 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 17 (CTK)—The Presidiums of the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council today adopted new legal regulations concerning misdemeanours against measures aimed at strengthening public order.

The need of these legal regulations has stemmed from the recent actions of anti-socialist groups which violated public order and security of citizens in the centre of Prague. The response of the public to these provocative actions clearly prove that an overwhelming majority of citizens disapprove of them and demand adoption of more effective measures to strengthen public order.

The existing laws applicable in these cases were passed 20 years ago and do not provide for an effective punishment of these anti-social actions. Therefore it was necessary to explicitly state that a misdemeanour against measures to strengthen public order can occur not only at public rallies banned or dispersed by national committees but also at such public meetings, with the exceptions set by law, which were not announced to a national committee in advance.

It was also necessary to newly define and concretize the act constituting the misdemeanour in such a way that a misdemeanour can be constituted also by conscious participation in a banned, unannounced or dispersed meeting just as by disobedience of an appeal for the dispersing of an unauthorized meeting or disobedience of an appeal to the participants in a meeting to disperse.

In the interest of a more effective punishment of the above mentioned misdemeanour, the maximum fine has been raised from 3,000 to 10,000 crowns.

The basic aim of the adopted measures is to strengthen the protection of the rights and justified interests of Czechoslovak citizens and thus contribute to further development in the conditions of the restructuring of economic and social life of Czechoslovak society.

Police Official on Bombing, Threats Inquiry

AU1702143689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
16 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant Colonel Jan Pavlik, doctor of law and chief of the Public Security Corps' Investigative Department attached to the Ministry of the Interior and Living Environment of the Czech SR, by RUDE PRAVO and CTK correspondents Josef Smola and Jiri Tomes, on 15 February: "Further Anonymous Telephone Callers Traced"—place not given]

[Text] In the past few days our citizens have been disturbed by reports of threatening telephone calls in various parts of the Czech SR. On Tuesday [14 February], RUDE PRAVO published a CTK report that members of the Public Security Corps had quickly succeeded in tracing three anonymous telephone callers. The North Bohemian daily PRUBOJ published their full names: Vladimir Francuz, Zdenek Svarovsky, and Frantisek Brecka. They threatened to cause explosions in various public buildings, among others in a hospital and a department store in Usti nad Labem and in Liberec. Correspondents of RUDE PRAVO and CTK interviewed Lieutenant Colonel Jan Pavlik, doctor of law and chief of the Public Security Corps' Investigative Department attached to the Ministry of the Interior and Living Environment of the Czech SR, on details of the investigation on Wednesday [15 February].

[Question] Could you inform us about the progress that has been made in the investigation of similar cases?

[Pavlik] The information published in the press that three persons are in custody in connection with the threatening telephone calls is true. I would like to add that regarding the originators of such telephone calls, a total of 15 were traced throughout the Czech SR by 14 February 1989, and 7 of them are in custody and being interrogated. In addition, we are checking on a warranted suspicion of another "author" of an anonymous telephone call in Kutna Hora, who threatened with an explosion in the local railroad station.

[Question] What is the purpose of the anonymous telephone calls?

[Pavlik] The motives in the cases that have been clarified are being studied. However, the objectives of these telephone calls can be generally deduced from their impact and consequences. It is obvious that their purpose is to, at least, create unrest and nervousness. The consequence, naturally, is concern and fear among the people. The threats also create fairly considerable costs as a result of having to check whether they are well founded. There have also been disruptions of traffic on the Prague subway, which affected many Prague inhabitants. As the results of the latest threatening telephone call, the traffic in Museum station had to be suspended for 10 minutes on Wednesday morning (a report on this is published elsewhere in RUDE PRAVO).

[Question] The Public Security Corps is making a great effort to trace the culprits of this serious criminal activity. What punishment can they expect according to Czechoslovak law?

[Pavlik] It is clear from the consequences described that these deeds constitute a considerable danger to society, that is, they are deeds that are punishable in accordance with the Penal Code. When assessing them, it is necessary, among other things, to take into consideration the culprits' intentions. The apprehended persons are being prosecuted in accordance with Article 190 of the Penal Code for the criminal act of spreading alarming reports. The court will assess their guilt and issue punishment.

[Question] We still would like to ask you about the progress of the investigation of the treacherous explosion in the atrium between the buildings of the Regional National Committee and the National Committee of the city of Usti nad Labem?

[Pavlik] Appropriate investigation methods have been determined on the basis of the clues and ascertained findings. One has to proceed from many circumstances, for example, from the results of experts' reports concerning the explosive used and the mechanisms connected with the explosion. Intensive investigations continue.

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700 Academics Protest to Adamec on Police Actions

LD1702092789 Hamburg DPA in German
0854 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Prague/Moscow (DPA)—Around 700 Czechoslovak academics and technicians have protested police excesses and have demanded a "turning away from the Stalinist social system" in a letter to Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec. It was learned in Prague today that they were referring to police actions against demonstrators in Prague in January 1989. Many members of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences are said to be among the signatories. Artists and historians recently protested in a similar manner.

It is striking that the letters have been addressed to the prime minister and not to the real center of power in the country, the CPCZ Central Committee and General Secretary Milos Jakes. Adamec, who according to the official Soviet news agency TASS today began talks in the Kremlin, is supposedly "not among the most enthusiastic advocates of police measures."

CPCZ Presidium Marks 1948 Anniversary

LD2002212789 Prague CTK in English
1910 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 20 (CTK)—The 41st anniversary of the Czechoslovak working people's victory in February 1948 is being marked at a time when society has entered a new stage of development consisting in comprehensive restructuring of all spheres of its life, the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium said in a statement on the anniversary today.

"We regard restructuring as a continuation of the socialist revolution, development of the legacy of the victorious February in new conditions. Its basis is restructuring of the economic mechanism, inseparably linked with the further improvement of socialist democracy", the statement said.

It stressed that the program of restructuring and democratization was received with understanding and given wide support in the party and society. The main demand now is to proceed to implement it everywhere, the statement said and stressed the need to fulfil the economic tasks of this year.

Mentioning intensified preparations for the 18th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress, which is to be held in May 1990, the Presidium pointed out that the party is the inspirer and the chief motive force of restructuring.

"In order to attain the goals we have set ourselves we need a creative atmosphere and such democracy in which confidence, discipline and responsibility reign and which links the rights of man to his duties. Only in this way will it be possible to counter all that impedes and jeopardizes the process of restructuring and democratization and to strengthen confidence in the future", the party statement emphasized.

"In this context it cannot be overlooked that forces which do not seek to contribute to the development of socialist society, to a better and more contented life of the working people and their families, have become active in our society especially in the last few months. Just as many times in the past they are now trying, with the help of some Western political circles and their media, to organize various actions of pressure and to give rise to tension in society with the aim to destabilize the situation, political methods used by the forces of disruption are demagogy and attempts to manipulate public opinion. They are especially trying to abuse the inexperience of young people, and do not stop short of threats, intimidation and terrorization."

"These are dangerous attempts which must be resolutely rejected. They are in stark conflict with the interests of the people, of our nations and nationalities, with the humanistic and democratic traditions of our country. No thwarting of the process of restructuring and no abuse of democratization to cause unrest and disrupt public order and the peaceful work and life of people may be permitted. It is necessary to observe laws everywhere and without exception, to punish their breaches justly and in accordance with the legal system and to fight against all disruptive phenomena", the statement stressed.

It noted that the implementation of the program of restructuring and democratization was also in full harmony with the effort to fulfil the main task of mankind, i.e. to remove the danger of nuclear war and gradually achieve disarmament and the development of peaceful international cooperation. "We stand in this struggle firmly on the side of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, all peace-loving forces in the world", the party Presidium emphasized.

'Rehabilitation' of Historians Rejected

AU1602151089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
13 Feb 89 p 2

["kou"-signed article: "The Congress of Historians Has Ended"]

[Text] Prague (our correspondent)—The Sixth Congress of Czechoslovak Historians ended on Saturday [11 February] in Prague with a plenary meeting attended by more than 500 participants. In the adopted conclusions the necessity of further developing historical research and teaching was emphasized.

A critical analysis of the development of our historiography in recent years was presented at the congress. In further work, the attention of historians ought to be directed at detailed research of the turning points and revolutionary periods in our history and in world history. The participants in the congress agreed that it will also be necessary to perfect the methodological bases of historical research. Historical materialism must not be only a set of prepared schemes which historiography would only fill with concrete historic facts. It is necessary to develop work in subsidiary historical sciences, especially for the most recent history, to improve work with archival materials, and so forth. Particular attention was paid to the teaching of history in all types of schools and to expanding historical knowledge for the general public. The knowledge of history has a great influence on the nurturing of patriotism and internationalism.

The conference confirmed the growing public interest in our history and in world history. The diverse activity of regional branches of the Czechoslovak Historical Society attached to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (CSAV), in which professional historians are affiliated, corresponds to this. A group of perhaps 70 individuals, among them followers of various illegal organizations, sent the congress a letter. Some of the demands, for example for the revival of the scientific activity of historians and the like, concur with the documents from the congress proceedings. Other demands, for example for the "rehabilitation" of certain historians, were outside the mission of the congress and were therefore rejected.

At the end of the congress a committee of the Czechoslovak Historical Society attached to the CSAV was elected. Prof Dr Vratislav Capek, doctor of sciences, was elected chairman.

Further on Appeal to Congress

AU1602151289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
14 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with Vratislav Capek, chairman of the Czechoslovak Historical Society, by Jiri Kohout: "History for Today"; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] As we reported on Monday [13 February], the 3-day Sixth Congress of Czechoslovak Historians ended in Prague on Saturday [11 February]. What were its results? This was the question that we addressed to Prof Dr Vratislav Capek, doctor of sciences, head of the Czechoslovak History chair at the department of philosophy of Charles University, and chairman of the Czechoslovak Historical Society attached to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. [passage omitted]

[Kohout] The congress of Czechoslovak historians discussed the need to pay greater attention to some periods of our history. Which periods are these?

[Capek] Every era provides the study of history with certain themes. The period of restructuring that we are experiencing today directs the attention of historians toward uncovering and elucidating more accurately perspectives and contexts that formerly were not that relevant. I will give an example. Today we speak about democratization as a constituent part of restructuring. Quite logically, historians must therefore devote greater attention to the period of the bourgeois democratic Czechoslovak Republic. They must do so not in order to reassess its nature but rather to learn more profoundly how the democratic forms of its political and social life operated.

From the viewpoint of the study of older history, it is interesting that, also in the world, attention is focused on the revolutionary processes that accompanied the transition from feudalism to capitalism. The study of the history of culture also yields new findings. What matters are not only the realia of a given period; the primary consideration is the role of man, of the individual man, in historical situations. Precisely here lies the foundation of what we call the humanization of history.

It was precisely the period of socialism that has been affected most by the dehumanization of history and by schematism in the study and interpretation of history. This will have to be put right quickly. [passage omitted]

The sixth congress of historians, of which our society was the main organizers, clearly confirmed the interest of the community of historians in contributing to a more profound knowledge of history according to the needs of the revolutionary present.

The Czechoslovak Historical Society attached to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences will set up new sections; also, the number of specialized discussions and methodological seminars will undoubtedly increase. The opening report also referred, for instance, to the need for a journal as a platform for scientific debate and for the publication of new findings of historical research. [passage omitted]

[Kohout] As RUDE PRAVO already reported, a letter from a group of historians was addressed to the congress. How did participants in the congress respond to it?

[Capek] This letter was presented to us a few minutes before the congress began. The participants in the congress were able to read its several pages of text in individual sections. Eventually, the demands raised in the letter were discussed also at the closing plenary session. It turned out that the absolute majority of demands raised in the letter were in accord with the contents of the main speech and with the draft resolution of the congress. In this respect the authors of the letter were therefore knocking at open doors. The authors of the letter were justly criticized at the congress for having put down nothing but appeals and demands without concrete suggestions for a solution. Some of the signatories evidently wanted to solve their own personal problems, in particular those persons who were expelled or crossed off the CPCZ membership rolls years ago, not for their scientific work but rather for their political activities. This, however, is something that a congress of historians cannot solve. [passage omitted]

Program of Expelled CPCZ Members' Group Rejected

AU1702134489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
15 Feb 89 p 2

[Jaroslav Kojzar commentary: "Revival—But of What?"]

[Text] Several former leading party functionaries from 1968, who want to organize a so-called club of socialist revival, are likewise becoming active.... Readers will already be aware of this fact from the speech by Comrade Milos Jakes at the meeting with journalists which was published on Saturday [11 February].

Yesterday we received a letter at the editorial office in which the "Revival" presented itself in a documentary form. But first, let's correct its name—it's not unsubstantial—the name should read: "Revival—Club For Socialist Restructuring."

They say the contents of the copies of the letter distributed, to all the communist, socialist, and social democratic parties in Europe, are a statement. It is signed by seven persons, headed by the one time director of the Military Academy of Political Studies in Prague, Prof Vaclav Mencl, who was in his time expelled from the CPCZ for his right-wing opportunist attitudes. The signatories of the "statement" pose as predecessors of restructuring, they avow "Dubcek's policy formulated in the CPCZ Action Program of April 1968." They use many of the ideas which have been heard in past years from the platform of CPCZ Central Committee meetings, in the speeches of our leading representatives, and in our mass information and propaganda media. However, at the same time they also claim that after February 1948 the road of the development of society "based on democratic socialism" was abandoned, that the "opportunity was not taken up to return to the indivisible symbiosis of national, democratic, and socialist ideals" created in the 1960's, and that the year 1968 was "a hopeful attempt at effecting deep social changes by a process of revival."

What are the organizers of the so-called Revival trying to do? What goals have they set for themselves? Besides general propositions such as an adherence to all reform steps aimed at the "eradication of crisis and the democratic solution to problems," they consider it necessary to outline the complete picture of national history, to hold seminars, discussions by experts, and evenings of questions and answers. This is the only concrete point of their stand.

Besides the fact that they are programmatically demanding a return to Czechoslovak policy before the events of February 1948, they are also pinning their hopes on a "reunion of all socialist tendencies in Europe into one pluralist stream." A condition of this process in Czechoslovakia is not the "partial amendments to the present system", but "fundamental system changes," in which the CPCZ must give up its leading role.

Behind the general slogans on restructuring and democratization, taken from our present day vocabulary, they have evidently concealed an intention, which has little in common with restructuring and democratization. It is the attempt of right-wing opportunists, from 1968, to achieve their own rehabilitation and the rehabilitation of the policy which they used to pursue.

The CPCZ and the National Front representatives have stressed many times that each positive proposal, which will help in the acceleration of the further economic and social development of our society, is welcome in the process of restructuring. This is the road of constructive dialogue. However, overthrowing the present political system, the system of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks, and casting doubts on all the achievements of the past 40 years are not on a program for discussion. Meanwhile, the authors of the letter sent on behalf of the so-called Revival—Club For Socialist Restructuring have offered nothing else.

New Taxation of Private Farming Explained

AU1602182989

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 8 February on page 3 and on 15 February on page 3 publishes in two installments a 2,300-word interview with Bohumil Vida, director of the State Revenues and Property Administration section at the Ministry of Finance, Prices, and Wages of the Slovak SR, by Bratislava PRAVDA staff journalist Stefan Hrcka. As PRAVDA notes in an introductory passage, the interview (the date and place of which are not given) was given in response to readers' letters asking for details about the new law on the agricultural tax that took effect 1 January.

Vida first discusses the reasons that prompted the adoption of the new law. He notes that the small growers' and breeders' exemption from income tax, introduced in 1982 on the basis of a Slovak Government decision, yielded "contradictory experiences" and bred "strong criticism on the part of the population and local bodies of state administration." The other reason, according to the ministry official, was the increase in procurement prices for agricultural produce that took effect 1 January, an increase that "must, for objective reasons, be considered while taxing citizens' income." Vida contends that the new law "reinforces the objectivity of taxation and the principles of tax justice," while simultaneously "creating conditions for interest in the further called-for development of small-scale agricultural production." Despite the abolition of tax exemption, he says, the law "clearly codifies support for small growers and breeders."

Vida then answers questions about the assessment of the agricultural tax. He says that, for the purpose of tax assessment, gross income from agricultural production is first generally reduced by 50 percent in the case of livestock production and by 40 percent in the case of the production of vegetables, fruit, wine, flowers, and other crops. This reduction, which is meant to offset the expenses of small breeders and growers, can reportedly be even higher if the taxpayer "furnishes credible evidence" that his actual expenses exceeded 50 or 40 percent of his gross income. The "net income" derived in this way is then further reduced by a lump sum of Kcs6,000, according to Vida, with the remaining sum representing "taxable income." The tax on this taxable income then ranges between 10 and 60 percent, depending on the income level. Vida also mentions that, to encourage self-supply, "income in kind" (that is, the farmer's consumption of his own produce) is not included when assessing taxable income.

Giving a practical example, Vida says that annual gross income from livestock production that does not exceed the sum of Kcs14,000 will be exempt from taxation. A small breeder who takes in Kcs28,000 from livestock production will pay Kcs800 in tax, while a small grower with the same annual gross income (Kcs28,000) from crop production will pay Kcs1,160.

Asked whether the calculated tax can be reduced, Vida notes that the national committees are entitled to cut the assessed tax by up to 50 percent for taxpayers who are older than 65 or disabled. On the other hand, they are entitled to raise it by up to 30 percent for taxpayers who sell their produce directly to consumers (rather than to a procurement organization) or who use hired labor. This measure is warranted, according to Vida, because these taxpayers "have a certain possibility of freely setting their prices."

Danube Power Plant Project To Be Accelerated

AU1502201389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
13 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with CSSR Deputy Premier Pavel Hrivnak by Miloslav Vltavsky: "15 Months to Our Credit;" date, place not given]

[Text] Prague (from RUDE PRAVO's correspondent)—The Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric power project will rank respectably among the large European water management schemes. Its completion is drawing near, all the more so as on last Monday [6 February] a protocol was signed in Budapest on shortening the periods between commissioning individual hydroelectric aggregates. In the final analysis, 15 months will be gained for using the project to generate power. On behalf of Czechoslovakia, the protocol was signed by CSSR First Deputy Premier Pavel Hrivnak, whom we asked for an interview.

[Vltavsky] Who came up with the initiative to cut the construction time by 15 months—we or the Hungarian side?

[Hrivnak] Officially, it was the Hungarian comrades who came up with this initiative. The issue was to jointly determine conditions that would make it possible to bring the Nagymaros hydroelectric power project on line within the shortest time possible and, thereby, to start to use the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power project fully. It needs to be added that the joint determination of both sides to take such a course of action holds out the promise of success.

[Vltavsky] What preceded the signing of the joint document?

[Hrivnak] On the Czechoslovak side, we were already preparing the shortening of the construction time while negotiating the delivery of individual aggregates for Gabcikovo. Originally we reckoned that individual power-generating units—there are eight of them altogether—would be brought on line one by one at 5-month intervals. "Steps" of this length—that is what power industry people call these time limits—trail behind the international standard set by technologically advanced states, leaving aside the fact that we are the country of the inventor and first builder of the famous Kaplan hydraulic turbine. Measures have therefore been prepared to cut the interval between bringing individual hydroelectric aggregates on line to 3 months. Following negotiations with their Austrian suppliers, our Hungarian partners came up with the proposal to bring their aggregates on line at 2-month intervals (compared with the Gabcikovo turbines, the Nagymaros turbines are smaller, direct through-flow turbines).

The essence of all such considerations was to speed up construction and, in particular, assembly work. This worked, and Peter Medgyessy, deputy premier of the Hungarian People's Republic, and myself were therefore able to sit down at the conference table in February.

[Vltavsky] What risks does your decision entail?

[Hrivnak] Every decision concerning construction on the Danube entails risks. We remember the vast floods of 1965, when the river caused enormous damage. One cannot rule out in advance the repetition of floods this year. Although the scheme protects adjoining areas against the consequences of flooding, floods could cause problems for the builders.

However, risks also lie in the fact that the accepted deadline does not allow any malfunction in management and organization, in the coordination of cooperation, or in the performance of people and machinery.

[Vltavsky] Will any extraordinary decisions be taken in support of cutting the deadline on our side?

[Hrivnak] There will be no extraordinary decisions, but some measures have already been taken. Cutting the deadlines for the completion of individual construction stages makes it necessary, for instance, to reallocate financial resources from the Ninth to the Eighth 5-Year Plan. These resources will be used to expedite the realization of some protective measures on the adjoining territory. To be specific, let me mention that this will concern the accelerated completion of the protection of Komarno, of the adjoining territory along the Danube above and below Komarno, as well as of the territory along both banks of the Vah River, the area around Iza and Kravany, and so forth.

These measures definitely do not entail an increase in the approved investment costs, but only their earlier utilization.

[Vltavsky] Could you say at least briefly how large the benefit of the earlier completion of the scheme's construction will be?

[Hrivnak] I have already mentioned some ecological benefits, to which the protection of people and territory undeniably belongs. Environmentalists and other readers will surely be interested to hear that the newly agreed upon deadlines for launching the power-generating part of the water system and, thus, the increased generation of ecologically unobjectionable electricity, will contribute to reducing sulfurous air pollutants by 23,000 tonnes. This calculation is based on the sulfur content of coal that is burned by the Novaky power station.

If we obtained the annual volume of electricity that is to be generated by the system of hydrolectric power stations by burning crude oil, for example, we would draw an amount of oxygen from the atmosphere that is equivalent to the annual production of oxygen by 300,000 to 400,000 hectares of forest.

As good managers, we must also consider the fact that the invested capital will start to yield returns earlier. For the Czechoslovak national economy, this item alone will represent a contribution of several tens of millions of korunas.

However, the greatest contribution of the signed agreement will be in generated power. Bringing the aggregates on line earlier will yield an additional 800,000 kilowatt hours in Gabcikovo and 1.5 million kilowatt hours in Nagymaros. And that is not the only benefit. In both states this is the cheapest energy to produce, for the production cost is lower than for any other source of power.

Moreover, in the near future the scheme will provide the precious peak-period electricity (that is, energy supplied in excess of average daily consumption at times of the greatest strain on the power grid—editorial note); peak-period and semipeak-period electricity will represent 63 percent of the annual volume of electricity generated by the entire system. This energy is much more precious than standard electricity. It is a pity that we do not have a greater number of such sources on our territory.

One last remark: The Gabcikovo power station has been designed in such a way that, to the tune of 10 percent of its output, it can help regulate frequency in the power grid. But this is a detail, albeit an important one, that only specialists will appreciate.

There is enormous international significance in river transportation, the volume of which increases year after year. In 1986, 18,500 vessels passed through the Czechoslovak section of the Danube (2,500 more than 2 years earlier). Outright ideal conditions for navigation will be created for these vessels in the near future, especially when we realize that at present the joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian section is one of the worst places for navigation on the entire navigable part of the Danube. Naturally, the improved conditions for navigation will not benefit only us and the Hungarians, but also all Danube states and, following the completion of the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal, which is scheduled for 1992, also all other ships, regardless of the flag that they fly.

We must also not forget the significance for mutual relations of successful cooperation between two friendly neighboring states and, as far as navigation is concerned, the significance of more intensive cooperation among all Danube countries.

[Vltavsky] Thank you for the interview.

Current Economic Reform Not Taken From Sik

AU1602182889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Feb 89 p 2

[Reply to an unidentified reader's letter by Jiri Kohout in the "Replying to Readers' Queries" column: "Sik Versus the Present Reform"]

[Text] One of the letters to our editorial office states: Recently you wrote that, in 1968, O. Sik wanted to wrench the management of the economy out of the hands of the "bureaucratic-administrative apparatus." But the present reform includes the same demand; moreover, it is said that the party leadership must be separate from interference in the economy. Are we not stealing from Sik?

This issue is far more complicated than is implied by the aforequoted passage. The fact is that the same slogans can have a completely different meaning in different situations. This is precisely the case of the Sik-style fight against administrative management methods, and of management methods in line with our present intentions.

We must also realize another thing. A number of economists and politicians actually opposed unnecessary bureaucracy in the socialist society's economy long before Sik, who abused this general demand for quite specific political aims. He frankly revealed these later when, as an emigre, he also confessed that rectifying matters within the framework of socialism was the least of his concerns, that he had wanted to gradually eliminate national ownership as such. The slogans about fighting the administrative system served Sik as a pretext for attacking state discipline and all forms of implementing the will of the socialist state in the management of the socialist economy.

Today we also want to leave behind the predominantly administrative methods of economic management in favor of predominantly economic methods. Unnecessary bureaucracy really does not suit socialism, and that is why one of the goals of restructuring is to fight it. However, restructuring itself is an instrument for accelerating socioeconomic development and for consolidating the socialist quality of social relations.

At the same time, the present reform proceeds from the principle that decisions should be made by those who bear the consequences of these decisions. This is the principle of the socialist self-management of the people, which is also applied in economic management today. While forms of ownership can also change, society as a whole remains the decisive owner of means of production, and the state proceeds to gradually provide for new ways of implementing the principle of national planning. Today we are still learning to do this. We may make mistakes, and many things will obviously have to be verified, corrected, or worked out in greater detail. However, the whole course of the current restructuring is establishing completely different conditions for pushing through the slogan of changing over from predominantly administrative methods to predominantly economic methods—a slogan which continues to be topical.

That is why today we are not stealing from Ota Sik; and there is even less reason to speak of an attack on the party's leading role. The principle that this role definitely does not include the replacing of state agencies or the bodies of social organizations must once again be enforced in practice.

Stoph Receives FRG Mission Official 20 Feb

LD2002160589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1450 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, on 20 February received Dr Franz Bertele, head of the FRG Permanent Mission, who is on his first visit.

Kessler Awards Banners to Civil Defense Units

AU1402164289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On the occasion of the 31st anniversary of the founding of Civil Defense, Army General Heinz Kessler, GDR minister of national defense, has awarded banners to 16 exemplary units. In this way, the commitment of the voluntary workers in protecting the population and the national economy against catastrophes and damage was honored.

On the order of the defense minister, Lieutenant General Fritz Peter, chief of the Civil Defense Main Administration, presented the awards to the Jagnow unit of the VEB Housing Construction Combine and the Schlink Civil Defense Collective from the VEB Civil Engineering Combine in Berlin. During an appeal at the workers militia memorial, Lieutenant General Peter stressed the achievements of the voluntary workers in implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress. Through their responsibility and commitment, they have contributed to ensuring the protection of the population against all kinds of dangers and to increasing production safety in the enterprises.

Further Awards Presented

AU1502113089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The 31st anniversary of the founding of the Civil Defense was celebrated at a festive event on Saturday [11 February]. The greetings message, signed by SED Central Committee Secretary Erich Honecker and addressed to the members and voluntary workers of the Civil Defense, was conveyed by Wolfgang Herger, director of the Central Committee Security Department. Lieutenant General Fritz Peter, chief of the Civil Defense Main Administration, presented awards to meritorious persons and collectives on the order of Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of national defense. Civil Defense Lieutenant Colonel Berthold Schwartz, deputy chief of the Civil Defense of Gadebausch Kreis, Chief of Staff Gerhard Stephan, commander of a Civil Defense unit in Dresden Bezirk, and other working people were decorated with the honorary title "Meritorious Member of Civil Defense."

During his speech, Lieutenant General Peter paid tribute to the achievements of the members and voluntary workers in the sphere of precautionary protection against catastrophes and damage. They had helped ensure the security and protection of the citizens, as well as a high level of production safety and a reliable domestic supply. He stated that he was convinced that the staffs and units will use all their strength in the 40th year of the GDR's existence to continue to comprehensively strengthen the republic in the interest of peace and security.

Bundeswehr Soldiers Talk With Peace Group

AU0802135689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—A delegation of the Darmstadt Signal, a peace initiative of members of the FRG Bundeswehr headed by Major Franz Meyer, secretary of its working circle, is currently visiting the GDR at the invitation of the GDR Peace Council. In Berlin and Dresden the guests held talks with Werner Ruempel, first deputy president and secretary general, and other leading figures of the Peace Council, including members of the National People's Army and military experts from the Advisory Council for Space Affairs.

Current requirements for securing peace, military confidence-building, and possibilities for further cooperation were discussed in a businesslike exchange of opinions. The partners in the talk noted that the peace movements, in the struggle for the survival of mankind, have become an extraordinary important factor of international politics. The guests from the FRG praised the unilateral disarmament measures of the USSR, the GDR, and the other states of the Warsaw Pact as exemplary steps on the way toward a more secure world with fewer and fewer weapons.

Hoffmann Receives Northrhine Westphalia Minister

AU1602160189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, GDR minister of culture, received Hans Schwier, Northrhine Westphalian minister of culture, for an exchange of opinion Tuesday [14 February] on the further shaping of cultural relations between the GDR and this federal land in the scope of the GDR-FRG cultural agreement. They discussed, among other things, the preparations for a cultural presentation of Northrhine Westphalia in Leipzig scheduled to take place in November of this year. During their talks, both interlocutors stressed that the arts and culture can make a valuable contribution to detente and to the development of goodneighborly relations. Dr Franz Bertele, head of the FRG Permanent Representation, was present at the meeting.

SPD's Bahr Scores NATO Disarmament Stance

AU0802141789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Feb 89 p 5

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Egon Bahr, the SPD's disarmament expert, sharply criticized the NATO states' attitude to the disarmament proposals presented by the USSR, the GDR, and other socialist states. NATO's response to the disarmament initiatives that have been submitted by the socialist countries has so far been "terrible," Bahr said. It is "high time" the West presents an overall plan for negotiations which include land-based nuclear missiles, Bahr noted at a meeting of the Loccum Evangelical Academy. According to Bahr, "an absolutely idiotic overcapacity of nuclear weapons" has been deployed in the FRG. It represents a major threat and must therefore not come last on the agenda for disarmament negotiations. As an initial stage, and until they can be completely scrapped, Bahr proposed to establish ceilings for land-based short-range nuclear missiles.

Bahr Criticizes FRG Nuclear Missile Plans

AU0902135689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Feb 89 p 1

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—SPD Presidium member Egon Bahr has called the FRG Government's plans to develop a new missile, which became known on Tuesday [7 February], an "alarm signal" and "a diabolical deception of the public using the word modernization." In the opinion of disarmament experts, the plans for the development of an FRG missile with a range of almost 500 km, which have been confirmed by the FRG Defense Ministry, constitute "new armament in line with the logic of old thinking according to war scenarios." In the press service of the SPD Bundestag Group, he called on the Federal Government to speedily examine these plans. "The Federal Government's plans are out of place, unless it is intended to insinuate that it wants to torpedo serious disarmament." The so-called modernization is apt to prevent disarmament, he stated.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With USSR

AU1402161789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The 1989 annual protocol on cooperation between the Association of German Consumer Cooperatives and the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives of the USSR (Tsentrosoyuz) was signed on Thursday [9 February] in Moscow. It contains the tasks and projects for extending political, scientific-technological, and economic cooperation.

The document, which was signed by the presidents of the two associations, Heinz Fahrenkrog and Pavel Fedirko, provides for the extension of the exchange of experience in all fields of cooperative work, particularly in the joint work for implementing the complex program of scientific-technological progress of the cooperative associations and cooperative councils of the CEMA member states up to the year 2000.

Solidarity Committee Shipments for SWAPO, ANC

AU1602160389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Feb 89 p 5

[Text] Luanda (ADN)—By order of the GDR Solidarity Committee, shipments from the GDR were handed over in Luanda over the weekend [11-12 February] to the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia and the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa. The shipments, which were financed from contributions by the people, consist mainly of foodstuffs and clothes. The ecumenic mission center of the GDR also contributed money for the solidarity gift.

Letter by Netherlands Antifascist to Honecker

AU0802110789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Feb 89 p 7

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, received the following letter from antifascist Frits Neijts, secretary general of the Netherlands-GDR Association, from Amsterdam:

Dear Mr Honecker:

I am sending this letter to you personally so as to express my gratitude for the fact that the GDR exists as an independent state, which firmly defends its borders and has—to the world public—always stressed that antifascism was one of the most important starting points for the founding of the GDR in 1949. Especially today, when I was shocked about the results of the West Berlin elections, where neonazis received 7.5 percent of the votes, it became clear to me again that the existence of the GDR and its development constitute a factor of peace for all of Europe.

I know from my own experience what fascism means and I was very pleased about the fact that from the very start neonazism has never had a chance in the GDR and that the founders of the GDR were tested antifascists.

With friendly greetings,

Frits Neijts,

Tormpstraat 33

1056 HW Amsterdam

Netherlands-GDR Association

Amnesty International Assertions Rejected

LD1702153889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1510 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Amnesty International, a group which describes itself as a prisoners' aid organization and which has close links with numerous Western secret services, has attempted to circulate falsified material about the GDR at the European Parliament in Strasbourg. It makes the mendacious assertion that hundreds of GDR citizens are sentenced to prison terms for political reasons in secret trials each year.

This evidently constitutes an attempt by interested circles to disrupt the development of relations between the GDR and the European Community.

'Homemade Bomb' Explodes on Budapest Subway

LD1702214589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] We now report in detail on an explosion that occurred on the Budapest Metro. In Budapest, a homemade bomb exploded in one of the cars on the east-west Metro line. No one was injured, although about 100 people were in the car at the time of the explosion. The incident took place at 1815 in the tunnel between the Astoria and Deak Square stops.

According to initial information, an unknown person left an explosive device at the back of the car, and the device later exploded. Budapest Police Headquarters is asking those who were in the Metro car at the time of the explosion, or who have substantive information on the incident, to file a report, to call telephone number 07, or to approach any policeman.

Investigation Continues

LD1802145989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Budapest Police Headquarters is intensively investigating the Metro explosion that took place yesterday.

Shortly after 1800, a homemade, timed pipe bomb exploded in one of the cars on the east-west Metro line between the Astoria and Deak Square stations. Some 100 passengers were in the car, but no one was injured, although much damage was caused. Interior Ministry officials have told MTI that they are checking out reports.

The duty controller of the Budapest Transport Enterprise told ESTI HIRLAP that after leaving the Astoria station the Metro drivers heard the explosion, but that they did not stop in the tunnel because they thought it would be better to open the doors only at the nearby Deak Square station. The controller said that Metro traffic did not stop even for a minute.

It was revealed that the Budapest Transport Enterprise had received similar murder threats [merenylet] several times in the past, but that there had been no such warning prior to yesterday's explosion. [passage omitted]

Reportage on 20 Feb Central Committee Plenum

Plenum Previewed

LD1702221989 Budapest MTI in English 2128 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 17 (MTI)—The HSWP Political Committee has convened the session of the Central Committee [CC] for February 20, Monday. Gyorgy Fejti, CC secretary, is to put forward a report on the conception of the new constitution, and Pal Ivanyi, member of the Political Committee and CC secretary, a draft for the renewal of agrarian policy. Janos Lukacs, member of the Political Committee and CC secretary, is to present a report on the main conclusions drawn from the party conferences and party committee sessions held in the cities and counties.

The report on the conception of the new constitution proposes that the constitution should declare historical continuity, the achievements of Hungarian society in the past 40-45 years, and that Hungary continues to build socialism. The constitution should lay special emphasis on human and civil rights and duties.

The proposal for renewing agrarian policy relies on the results, values and experience of the past decades. In parallel with the acceleration of the reform process, it is an urgent task to survey the situation of the agrarian sector, and initiate the required changes and renewal. According to the proposal, the Central Committee will publish a draft statement on the new agrarian policy and present it to party debate. It will also request the opinion of scientific and representative organizations. Drawing conclusions from the debate, the Central Committee will discuss topical issues of agrarian policy this year.

The third report says that the party conferences and party committee sessions held in the cities and the counties were marked by a new work style and complete openness. The preparation and convening of party conference made the party members politically active. The report calls attention to the fact that the long drawn out debates may easily cause the party movement to become introvert in a period when the party should be reacting rapidly and on a day-to-day basis to the social processes.

The Central Committee is also to discuss personnel issues.

Role of Constitution Discussed

LD1802113989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] The new constitution must provide scope for the spontaneous development of the economic and political system by restraining processes only to the extent that protecting the constitutional order makes this unavoidable.

This, too, is included in a submission circulated among members of the MSZMP Central Committee prior to the session convened for Monday. The submission was published today by NEPSZABADSAG. In the document, regarding the formulation of the state in Hungary, it is remarked that a change in the name People's Republic does not appear to be justified. The Marxist-Leninist party of our society is not the leading force of our society not simply because it is declared to be so by the Constitution, but because it is becoming increasingly a political party.

The concept provides lists of definitions for the so-called freedom rights, among which it recognizes the right of every person to peaceful assembly, his right of religion, thought, freedom of conscience, expression of views, and freedom of the press. The party's submission takes a stand in support of introducing the institution of a president of the Republic, and it discusses the constitutional court as a new institution. At the same time, it considers the establishment of a state audit office to be necessary. As for the national emblem, it supports the crown-type one.

Kadar Chairs Opening Meeting

LD2002121989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] The MSZMP Central Committee, with Janos Kadar in the chair, is meeting in Budapest. Attila Balint reports from MSZMP Headquarters:

[Balint] MSZMP Chairman Janos Kadar first informed those present that following his operation he is able to gradually involve himself in work. He stated that he personally adheres to the resolutions of the May party conference in every aspect. Due to his illness, he regretfully was unable to participate in the recent work of the Central Committee, but he considers all adopted resolutions to also be binding on him, just as the party statute prescribes this for every party member.

As you already know, this consultation discussed the concept of preparing the constitution, the tenets of the renewal of the agricultural policy, experiences at the party conferences, and personnel issues.

Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the Central Committee, reported on the situation concerning work on the Constitution. His report has just ended, and there is now a break. The vouchers of those intending to contribute are being collected.

Gyorgy Fejti discussed several important questions of detail, including those to which it will be necessary to return at a later stage—for example, the introduction of the institution of the presidency of the Republic, the constitutional court, the election system, or for example, the part of the new constitution which deals with the social, political, and economic form. These will be discussed again, possibly in the form of a separate, independent submission by the Politburo, or if necessary, also by the Central Committee.

The continuity, the 1,000-year-old Hungarian statehood, will be laid down in the preamble of the constitution, but as Gyorgy Fejti pointed out, the more recent view, which attempts to portray that the events that took place since 1948-49 did not occur, must be rejected.

Issue must also be taken with those views according to which the social and economic order as such is a Stalinist category. It is certain that the new constitution will define Hungary as a free democratic state, and it is the principles and fundamental values linked to this which will be laid down in the chapter that deals with the social and economic order. It is as yet a fact that this is not the strongest point of the concept. It would be a mistake if a type of normative definition of socialism were to be written into the constitution, but such fundamental values as the determining character of collective property [koezoessegi tulajdon], social justice, reducing the inequality of opportunity, and the human and citizen freedoms, make clear in their totality the socialist character of development in Hungary.

The creation of the constitution, the competence of the National Assembly, and the new constitution must be adopted by the present National Assembly, provided that these former things are completed within the term of this Assembly.

Fejti Discusses New Constitution

LD2002204389 Budapest MTI in English 1956 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 20 (MTI)—As reported, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party met in session on Monday [20 February] in Budapest, under the chairmanship of Janos Kadar.

Mr Kadar, who opened the session, said with respect to the state of his health: he can gradually join into the work, under medical supervision, although his hand operation still requires follow-up treatment. True, he could not participate in the work of the Central Committee for a time, but he declares: he shall observe the resolutions of the May party conference in all respects, and considers all decisions of the body to have a binding force on him.

In accordance with the agenda of the session, Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, delivered his speech on the conception of the new constitution.

Mr Fejti referred to the fact that the regulation conception of the constitution was prepared following lengthy professional and scholarly preparatory work, and several issues will have to be discussed again, in the form of a separate agenda point, in the course of further work. Discussing the issue of the presidential system, Mr Fejti stressed: In case a decision is reached in this, the scope of tasks and authority of the president should be thought out in great detail, and adapted to the role of parliament and government. The chapters of the Constitution as, for instance, those dealing with the social, economic and political order, also have to be reviewed separately. The Political Committee follows the debate of the conception, the preparation of the bill and, if need be, shall turn to the Central Committee with submittals.

"What should the relation of the constitution be towards the Hungarian and the international, within this mainly of the European constitution development, it was raised. [sentence as received] In a certain sense, the Constitution of 1949 broke with the traditions of the 1,000-year-old Hungarian statehood, and mainly of the Hungarian constitutional law development, and with several fundamental principles and theses of bourgeois constitutional law that proved lasting. Our proposal is to correct this error. Thus, the basic conception relies on the values of Hungarian legal history and state organization, for instance, the role of statehood in the survival of the nation, and the self- governing fundamental principle. But is also relies on the progressive feature of bourgeois constitutional law, for instance, it consistently sees through the very important principle of separating the power branches when it sets down the conception of the state organization. And building from these traditions, it devotes a greater scope than earlier to the human and civic rights, the freedom rights."

In the following, Mr Fejti noted: The drafting of the constitution falls under the authority of the highest organ of people's sovereignty, the National Assembly. The current National Assembly should discuss and approve the draft contitution, in case this can be prepared during the current parliamentary cycle. At the same time, it would be important—and the Central Committee recommends this—that the final text of the constitution be reconfirmed by referendum.

Mr Fejti stressed that the Central Committee proposes to carry out the constitution preparatory work with the greatest openness and the widest publicity: The effort should be enforced that the current text of the constitution conception be made available to all citizens and the various groups of citizens.

In the following, Mr Fejti commented on several chapters of the Constitution. In connection with the chapter related to the social, political and economic order, he said: The principle of the sovereignty of the people should be set down as a fundamental principle on the origin of state power. In other words, that the people are the exclusive source and possessor of all power, the people who partly exercise this power directly, for instance, through referendum or through the institute of popular initiative, and partly through the state organization.

With respect to the definition of the state form, Mr Fejti said: In the course of the preparatory work, we reached the conclusion that there is no better determination for this than people's republic. This expression implies very important, genuine values in Hungary.

In connection with the constitutional definition of the political system and the parties, he noted: According to our position, the multi-party system should not be defined by the constitution, at the same time, the basic law can provide a framework for development pointing in the direction of the multi-party system.

"An important difference from the Constitution of 1949 is that we do not see the need and sense of the constitutional formulation on the leading role of the HSWP. This naturally does not mean that the HSWP renounces the political effort and intention that it wishes to remain the determining factor of the social processes...in defence of society, it is expedient to set down that only such social organiations, including parties, can operate in our country whose aims, programmes and activity are in harmony with the values and efforts formulated in the Constitution", Mr Fejti said.

In connection with the constitutional setting down of the property relations, Mr Fejti noted: We recommend that the constitution recognize, as equal property forms, the common and private property. The constitution should also formulate that society and economy rest on the dominance of common property.

Ivanyi Views Agrarian Policy

LD2102001289 Budapest MTI in English
2157 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 20 (MTI)—"Renewal of the party's agrarian policy is a part of economic renewal, of the reform process, and is one of the elements of an eventual firm economic policy turn", said Pal Ivanyi, secretary of the Central Committee, on Monday in Budapest, presenting the proposal aimed at renewing the party's agrarian policy. "The Political Committee proposed to discuss the further development of one of the successful area of the past three decades, agrarian policy, as, one the one hand, the renewal of our economy poses new demands also in the field of food production, on the other hand, because the development of food production has slowed down in the past years—as the effect of numerous internal and external causes—and many agricultural and food industry units are struggling with daily economic problems today."

Discussing the results of the branch, Mr Ivanyi noted that Hungarian agriculture doubled, and food industry tripled its production between 1960 and 1988. The country is among the top in the world with respect to per capita grain and meat production. "These made it possible for us to again become a major exporter in the mid-1960s, from a food importing country, while we ensured a balanced food supply at home, for the most part from domestic production. Exports of the branch last year were worth 1,500 million dollars and 1,000 million roubles."

Among the reasons for renewing agrarian policy, Mr Ivanyi mentioned in first place the insufficient interestedness and market adaptability. The second factor are the challenges posed by the internal and external markets that are lastingly in oversupply, and the protectionist international commercial policy. With respect to the tasks facing the branch, Mr Ivanyi mentioned the switch from the quantitative approach to the qualitative one, progressive restructuring. The large-scale units will invariably remain the determining elements of the future of Hungarian agriculture, at the same time, household and auxiliary production—which in a considerable part rely on large-scale integration—and main-occupation private venture will play a greater role.

In connection with updating the land law, Mr Ivanyi said that it is expedient to extend the possibilities of private land use. Another important task is to streamline cooperative policy. For instance, it should be made possible for cooperative members to exercise genuine proprietory rights over a part of the asset growth, in a self-governing scope of authority, Mr Ivanyi said, among others.

Session Continues 21 Feb

LD2102080789 Budapest MTI in English
0743 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 21 (MTI)—The HSWP Central Committee continued session with the debate on the agrarian-political theses at 8 o'clock on Tuesday [21 February]. Chairman Janos Berecz announced that nineteen contributions were to be expected on this item of the agenda. After closing debate on the aforementioned topic, the report on town and county party conferences, as well as party committee sessions, is likely to follow, as presented by Janos Lukacs, secretary of the Central Committee.

Berend Says 100,000 May 'Break Away' From Party

LD1702215189 Budapest MTI in English
1030 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 17 (MTI)—Ivan T. Berend, president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA) and member of the HSWP Central Committee, met with activists of Budapest city centre party organizations, as well as with representatives of social and mass organizations from Budapest's Vth district. The meeting dealt with the findings of the historical sub-committee commissioned to investigate the history of our recent past.

Mr Berend mentioned the lack of identity that had emerged in the ranks of the party in the wake of the national party conference. He thinks this has been due to a need for the HSWP to decide what events of the past four decades the party should identify with. This identification has not been explicitly carried out to this day.

Talking about 1956, Mr Berend referred to how the term "people's uprising" should be interpreted. The historical sub-committee found that this term would provide the clearest interpretation of the complexity of the 1956 events, as well as refuting the previous belief that the uprising had been organized by external or internal forces, a theory not supported by the facts. He pointed out that this term was not a new usage, since it had already been included in the original, much more complex assessment. This terminology was later mistakenly abandoned.

Reflecting on the compromises achieved at the Central Committee session about the proper evaluation of 1956 and the danger of a split in party ranks, Mr Berend said that party unity was still interpreted in the old sense. In this respect, he also referred to the freedom of party platforms. He said that calling the 1956 events a "people's uprising" was not brought about by compromise, but a decision based on facts. He said that the imminent danger now is not a party split, but a potential breaking away of certain strata in the light of the change in historical evaluation and the content of a new party manifesto now in the pipeline. He thinks as many as 100,000 might even break away.

He was also asked whether it would be possible to provide an appropriate definition for the term "socialism" if the Constitution were to include a requirement for future parties to recognize the socialist system.

Mr Berend replied that this question is still awaiting the attention of scholars. For him, it is an open question.

Nyers on Social Democracy, 'Reform' Communism

LD2002165589 Budapest MTI in English
1355 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 20 (MTI)—State Minister Rezso Nyers, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party attended the latest meeting of the Club of Young Lawyers and answered questions by the correspondent of MAGYAR NEMZET.

To a question concerning social democracy, the state minister pointed out that the views of present-day reform communists strongly resemble the system of social democratic ideas.

Asked about the characteristics of a reform communist, he said, "We recognize the market economy, accept parliamentarism based on the multi-party system and interpret the relationship of state and society on a dualist basis.

"Our social democratic policy has to be restored to its former position," Mr Nyers said.

On the re-established Social Democratic Party, Mr Nyers pointed out, "we acknowledge the existence of this party. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party retains its character of a united party, but the possibility of cooperation exists. We are looking for ways of rapproachment. As far as our relationship is concerned, we are to be their social democratic conscience, and they are to be our socialist conscience."

With regard to the question set to HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz during his recent radio and TV interview [on] how he views the statement that only parties standing for socialism will be able to operate, and what is the meaning of socialism, Mr Nyers said:

"What does socialism mean? When it comes to philosophical questions, he always reach the point where no ambiguous answers can be given. I think that in the case of the parties, the only condition of operation should be acceptance of the Constitution. In my opinion, that is the limit of democracy."

Independent Groups Praise Statement on 1956

*LD1802000689 Budapest MTI in English
2213 GMT 17 Feb 89*

[Text] Budapest, February 17 (MTI)—In a joint declaration issued on Friday [17 February], a number of independent political organizations, federations and parties welcomed the HSWP CC's [Central Committee] statement as an important step on the road leading towards a democratic Hungary.

The statement was signed by the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society, the Transylvanian Association, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Independent Lawyers' Forum, the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Alliance of Free Democrats, the Committee for Historical Justice, and the Peter Veres Society.

The signatories regard the statement on 1956 as an important step forward, but objected that the CC did not recognize the facts of revolution and war of independence and their democratic nature.

They hold it as an important condition of democratic advance that the HSWP CC accepted the multi-party system which is the sole democratic form of exercise of power. In this regard, they emphasized that the institutionalization of a multi-party system and the principle of equal opportunity demand that the new parties and political organizations receive allocations from the central budget on a parity basis.

In an effort to accelerate the democratic process, the signatories propose to hold a round-table with the participation of the government, the HSWP leadership and the democratic political organizations. The round-table talks would have the aim of determining the conditions of electing a constitutional assembly.

Grosz, Officials Address Parliamentarians

*LD1402194989 Budapest MTI in English
1742 GMT 14 Feb 89*

[Text] Budapest, February 14 (MTI)—The group of communist MPs held a meeting on Tuesday [14 February] with Matyas Szuros, HSWP CC [Central Committee] secretary and head of the HSWP group of parliament, in the chair. Before the spring session of parliament to start on March 8, Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the Central Committee, gave briefs on the conception of the new constitution, and State Secretary Csaba Halmos, president of the state wages and manpower office, on the draft amendment to the labour code and the strike bill. Then Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary, informed the MPs on the February 10-11 session of the HSWP CC, and the topical tasks of the party [words indistinct] Istvan Stadinger, speaker of parliament, and Istvan Fodor, head of the group of independent MPs.

Nemeth on New Attitude Toward Trade, Borrowing

*LD1702143489 Budapest MTI in English
1150 GMT 17 Feb 89*

[Text] Budapest, February 17, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—"For the economy there is no better place than the market and no better tool than money", said Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth in his address given to mark the opening of the international training center for bankers in Budapest Friday [17 February].

Mr Nemeth said he saw the establishment of the bankers centre as part of the move to "right the course which has been based on a distorted ideology". He stressed that doing business should no longer be looked upon as something "suspicious" but as a "virtue".

He pointed out that the theory which suggested only "work was morally acceptable and trading and moneylending downright forbidden" must be discarded at last as this was the ideology with which the state "saved people from committing the sin of trading and moneylending in the 50s" and turned trade and banking into state monopolies.

Prime Minister Nemeth asserted that Hungary had taken three important steps in order to modernize its monetary institutions, first it permitted the release and trade of securities in the early 80s, second it established a two-tier banking system and third, it had a law endorsed last year to facilitate the foundation of companies which "are necessary for the operation of a modern capital market".

But Mr Nemeth admitted that there was no real market economy in Hungary as yet and, in addition, the country was now struggling with trying to match the fundamentally different markets of the West and the East on its domestic one.

In connection with the international banking world, Mr Nemeth said that the country's relationship to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank was "highly important" as these ties were established when Hungary was struggling with a liquidity crisis in 1982.

"At that time Hungary was able to overcome its difficulties only by joining these institutions and to enjoy their support", he said and stressed that these ties were "strong and correct". He admitted that "Hungary reckoned with the support of the international community and especially with that of the IMF and the World Bank to enhance its efforts to modernize the economy and to create the conditions for a market economy".

In order to establish a genuine financial information system and to introduce supervision, advanced and wide-spread modern monetary techniques must be adopted in Hungary, he stressed. In this the bankers' training centre could become an important East-European centre and the only one for the training of bankers by being the "importers of knowledge", he concluded.

The newly opened international training center for bankers has been set up [by] 29 shareholders with the involvement of the French Centre International de Formation de la Profession Bancaire. It has a starting capital of 130 million forints ($2.4 million) of which 3.5 per cent has been signed by the French party and the rest by Hungarian banks and other institutions.

The center will launch its first training courses early March upon the instruction method provided by the French party, which will focus on subjects ranging from monetary management through liquidity management, the money market, capital market, company finances, bank management to the financing of small private ventures.

Ministers Prepare for National Assembly Session

LD1602222189 Budapest MTI in English 2129 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—The Budapest group of MPs held a session on Thursday [16 February] in parliament, in preparation for the session of the Hungarian National Assembly from March 8 to 10. The MPs heard a report on the conception of the constitution under preparation presented by Minister of Justice Kalman Kulcsar.

The legislators propose to introduce the institution of president of the Republic instead of the current Presidential Council. The president of the Republic, as an independent state leader, is to fulfil the role of one of the guarantees of the division of power. Although parliament is indisputably the trustee of people's sovereignty, it cannot have unlimited power. The will of the people can be manifest directly, in a given case, and the possibility is to be created by working out the law on referendum.

The minister also said that the government will prepare the bill on political parties by August 1. This will be a legal measure of technical nature, which does not pose any kind of obstacle for the parties. It will be concerned with the registration of the parties, the fundamental condition of which is that the organization operate in accordance with the Constitution. The parties can carry out political fight only with peaceful means, and no single party can strive to exclusively expropriate power.

Mr Kulcsar also said that, following the February 20 session of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, the daily MAGYAR HIRLAP will carry, as a supplement, the conception of the constitution which will thus be open to social debate. Parliament is to place the bill on its agenda at two of its sessions.

SDP Leader Bihari Discusses New Party

LD1802233889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 18 Feb 89

[From the "168 hours" program; interview with expelled MSZMP party member Mihaly Bihari by correspondent Akos Mester—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified moderator] The question of the transition to forming a multiparty system will be discussed by Akos Mester and Mihaly Bihari. Mihaly Bihari was one of the four people who were expelled from the party in April. He is again the center of talk and political speculation because, according to the latest reports, he is working for a newly reformed party.

[Mester] Is it true that you are to be the executive general secretary of the Social Democratic Party [SDP], which is being reorganized?

[Bihari] Yes, that is true. [passage omitted]

[Mester] What support can the reorganized SDP count on? I think this is a very important question.

[Bihari] You are right. We had to consider whether we can expect social and political support, and from where.

[Mester] And can you expect it?

[Bihari] Yes, we can count on support, because in the past few weeks the number of people joining the SDP has increased to more than 10,000. But what really interests me is what effect this will have on the MSZMP. For me it was pretty obvious—not just now, but last fall, when the idea of reforming the SDP first surfaced—that this party will be the greatest challenge to the MSZMP. The reason for this is that according to my experience, within the MSZMP there are 100,000 or perhaps even more party members who accept democratic socialism and all that we—that is together with my colleagues—stand for as democratic socialists. Second, there are those who reject a too rigid hierarchial type and tightly organized party which cannot lead the Hungarian renewal, and it seems that even now it is still in a state of labor.

[Mester] Yes, but if the MSZMP is able to carry out its ambitions, that is to renew itself, then the flag hoisting of the SDP will not take place in the desired way, in which people transfer their registration en masse from the ranks of the MSZMP to the ranks of the SDP. This can only be imagined if the conservative wing gains the upper hand in the MSZMP.

[Bihari] That is so. If today's central leadership, the leadership within the MSZMP, gives way to the pressure by the conservative forces, then departures will assume a mass character even without the appearance of the SDP. I, for my part, am not keeping my fingers crossed for the Hungarian SDP to weaken the MSZMP. I am all for the various political trends existing within the MSZMP, and which differ from each other very strongly, to separate as soon as possible, obviously with a platform character at first, and later, perhaps, in an organizational manner, because the radical reform-communist wing separating within the MSZMP can be the most natural ally of a Hungarian social democracy that has a new aspect.

[Mester] This is possible, but at the moment we are in a period of transition, when it is very important for the MSZMP that this kind of party schism does not occur. You did not spell this out, but this is practically what you probably meant.

[Bihari] This is what I meant, but I believe it is possible that in the short term, party division is not in the interest of the MSZMP. However, in the longer term—and this only means a few month longer, meaning that we are not talking about an 8-10-year period—I think its interest is still for the political platforms to separate from each other. This, in my opinion, among other things, brought today's political leadership into such a stalemate that it cannot even carry out its own good objectives, and it loses its credibility and the trust of society. Thus, I think that it is inevitable that such a collective party, the membership of which increased to 800,000 over the decades, and in which there are incredibly heterogeneous people with very, very different political genres and mentalities, should settle [letisztuljon].

In my opinion, today in Hungary there is not one party which can be taken really seriously. The developing parties are not yet parties. They are just in the process of adopting their election programs, their members are just getting organized, and their organizational frameworks are being formed. However, within a year, of these developing parties, four or five can grow into being a very serious and strong political factor.

But of course, what is more mysterious is whether the MSZMP is a party. To my mind the MSZMP is an etatist public power [etatizalt koeazhatalom], a static public power which does not carry out a party-type function. Its activity does not have a party character, and it does not politicize in a party-like manner, because, for example, it does not consult even with its own members about extraordinarily important political questions like the transition to a multiparty system, the problems and questions of constitutional processes, or how it relates to the other developing alternative organizations. The fact is that it does not politicize with its own membership.

I spent quite a long time in the MSZMP—15 years—so I should know roughly what kind of moods and opinions exist within the MSZMP. I was recently invited many times to party membership meetings at party branch organizations for consultations and talks, and so forth, and there I experienced an entirely different mood, strata, and type of political will making than among the political leadership. [passage ommitted]

Opposition Parties Discuss Transition Period

LD1302220888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Representatives of several parties and associations debated what kind of political transition to expect at the Young Sociologists Club forum. Peter Rozsa reports from the Kossuth Club:

[Rozsa] The participants in the roundtable discussions are: the Smallholders Party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF], the Alliance of Free Democrats, FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], the Social Democratic Party [SDP], and the New March Front, each of which was represented by one person. It was decided back in December to hold this debate today, so it is pure luck that it comes after the MSZMP session and the publication of the communique that can be regarded as a historic turning point. These talks—discussions—thus gained particular importance.

I asked some of the organization's representatives what kind of political behavior they consider to be most advisable in the so-called transition period—that is, in the period up to the realization of parliamentary democracy, what each organization considers advisable in the way of practical behavior, in the interests of cooperation.

Andras Gergely, member of the temporary HDF committee, summarized this in three points. In his opinion, agreement must be reached at all costs in the evaluation of 1956. He added that now, after the appearance of the communique, he believes that the possibility of this happening exists. As for the second condition, he mentioned the clarification of the debate on whether the new constitution being prepared should contain socialism as a principle to be accepted or not is necessary. In his opinion, this would not be advisable, because it is a matter of political terminology which may perhaps be abused through power. As for the third condition—and in this the HDF does not stand alone—he spoke of the convening, as soon as possible, of a constitutional parliament, and its precise, exact organization.

I asked Istvan Hegedus, representing FIDESZ, what kind of behavior can be expected from FIDESZ in the coming months. He said that the corporate opinion is that in the interests of cooperation, it is now a peaceful transition free of force that must be viewed as the most important condition or criteria. For this, of course, two things are necessary: The organizations must carry out bilateral and multisided consultations with each other, and here he is thinking of the MSZMP, too. And for these consultations, complete openness is needed, meaning the accentuated role of the press. Vilmos Heiszler, member of the organizing committee of the SDP, formulated perhaps most strikingly the probable behavior of the organization. He said that in plans for coalition, that is cooperation, the SDP is for the time being biding its time. Rather, what they consider to be important now is the creation of independence. But, agreement can be counted on on the following questions: According to this, in the course of getting out of the crisis, the possibility must be sought according to which the various cooperating organizations maintain the least possible conflict with each other. [sentence as heard]

Complete agreement can be expected from the various organizations concerning the realization of multiparty-system pluralism.

The SDP's separate stand also concerns economic management. In its opinion, the creation of a multi-ownership economy cannot be delayed any longer. This was stated as a direct condition to be attained as soon as possible.

Trade Union Bodies Discuss Policies, Future

LD1402230989 Budapest MTI in English
2134 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 14 (MTI)—Political, social and economic issues such as whether the Hungarian trade union movement will be able to face its pace and find its way to independence were discussed by the leaders of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) and the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) on Tuesday [14 February].

According to MDF, the trade unions cannot avoid facing the past if they wish to fulfil their functions under the political conditions of extending democracy. Writer Sandor Csori, member of the MDF board, asked how it was compatible with the SZOT endevours for renewal that they sought to realize the new under old forms. Zoltan Biro, another MDF leader, established that there was a close relationship between the trade unions the the HSWP and it remained to be seen what approach the unions would make to the different parties under the conditions of a multi-party system. A number of MDF leaders said that the trade unions might play a key role in a multi-party system.

The trade union movement has proved more than once that it was able and prepared to face its past, the SZOT leaders said. For instance, they have abandoned the principle and practice that the trade unions have the simultaneous tasks of promoting production and representing the interests of employees.

If there are genuine parties in Hungary, the trade union movement will face the dilemma whether it lets itself be dissipated by the various political forces or continue to work on the basis of a coalition, SZOT General Secretary Sandor Nagy said.

Mr Nagy added that unity should be preserved whatever happens so the trade union movement can operate on a coalitional basis. Magda Kosa, SZOT secretary, said that the political parties should struggle for winning over the trade unions. For this reason, the unions should declare, if required, that they are independent from any political, national and regional affiliation.

The SZOT leaders disagreed with the MDF opinion that indifference prevailed among the people.

The sides held identical views on the importance and content of the strike bill, which is being drafted. There are many similar features in the economic policy ideas of the two organizations. The recently completed economic policy conception of MDF, as the trade union's conception, lays great emphasis on the reform of property relations, the establishment of an institutional system for asserting the proprietory and workers' interests, and the remuneration of labour at its real value.

Writers Body Protests CSSR Activist's Arrest

LD1702183189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Excerpts] The West German parliament has protested to Czechoslovakia because an indictment has been brought in Prague against several figures in the [CSSR] civil rights movement, including writer Vaclav Havel. [passage omitted]

The Hungarian Writers Association has also expressed its concern over the arrest of Vaclav Havel and his being taken to court in Czechoslovakia. A letter has been sent to Czechoslovakia's ambassador in Budapest.

Iranian Embassy Statement on Khomeyni Edict

LD1702224189 Budapest MTI in English
2031 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 17 (MTI)—The Budapest Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran has asked the Hungarian news agency to publish the following statement: Some press organs in Hungary have reported that Ayatollah Khomeyni, the leader and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, has offered blood money for those who kill writer Salman Rushdie, author of 'The Satanic Verses' published in London. In a former statement, Imam Khomeyni called upon the Muslims of the world to execute, under Islamic law, the author, who has insulted one billion Muslims in their faith. Ayatollah Khomeyni's statement does not include a single word on blood money. This offer was made by an independent Iranian organization, the statement of the embassy says.

Price Increases, Overtime Payments Noted

LD1302150189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Following further price increases, which are effective today, reports have spread that even goods whose prices had already gone up this year will also cost more. We made enquiries in a supermarket with a quick turnover, and we were told that this report was untrue.

By the way, workers in the food shops have been spending their third Saturday already with repricing—naturally for overtime pay. Therefore, we also asked the Ministry of Trade whether the extra revenue from the price increases would not be spent on the overtime payments. We have learned that trade will receive extra income worth 400 million forints from the price increases planned for the whole year. The overtime payment handed out in the 1988 January price increase amounted to 120 million forints. However, this year there have already been three price increases, and according to indications, another five can be expected. In the view of the competent authorities, the overtime payments will probably not exceed the aforementioned 400-million-forint total—note the word probably.

World Bank To Provide Loan for Restructuring

AU1602160789 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Feb 89 p 4

[Text] The World Bank is to provide Hungary with a new $140-million loan for its industrial restructuring. This third loan from the World Bank aims at developing Hungary's export of finished products to capitalist markets and supporting the export activity of small-scale ventures.

According to the World Bank, the new loan is expected to improve enterprise management, encourage competition and technical renewal, and contribute to reducing the temporary unemployment caused by economic restructuring. The World Bank is providing the loan for the usual 15 years, and the interest rate will be adjusted to prevailing rates.

Special Economic Zone With Austria Planned

LD1302164189 Budapest MTI in English 1523 GMT 13 Feb 89

["Special Economic Zone in Hungary?"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, February 13, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Fifteen Hungarian companies and cooperatives are to establish a special economic zone in the environs of Sopron, on the western border of Hungary, with the participation of Austrian private entrepreneurs. Dozsa, a cooperative farm in Sopron has offered an area of 400 hectares for constructing industrial and trade facilities for the zone, where Western working capital and technology would be involved.

According to talks held at the weekend, Hungarian participants and the Austrian private entrepreneurs are to establish the economic zone in the form of a joint-stock company with a basic capital of 67 million forints. Foreign partners are mainly interested in the selling of second-hand cars and the construction of a supermarket.

The partners have set Hungarian authorities a 30-day deadline to grant permission. Demands are that foreign investments and imports to the zone should be exempt from duties and taxes, imports by Hungarian companies should be qualified as exports, and only 50 per cent duties should be levied by Hungarian authorities on finished products manufactured in the zone, if Hungarian input exceeds a 30 per cent share.

The joint-stock company, if formed, would carry accounting and financial transactions in deutsch marks.

Academician on Scientific-Technical Relations

LD1602143689 Budapest MTI in English 1045 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—"Hungary is already behind schedule as regards adjustment and affiliation to the 1992 Western European integration. We have already taken the initial steps to go along with the changes that will transform the entire world economy, but even the theoretical answers have not yet been outlined," Istvan Lang, general secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA), told MTI.

On the development of Hungarian scientific and technical relations, he said:

"In our efforts to fit into the new European system, besides working on cooperation with Western Europe, we should not ignore the improvement of our relations with Eastern European countries, particularly the Soviet Union. Hungary's loyalties lie in two areas—the CMEA on the one hand, and the West on the other. Although the energy resources and raw materials from the Soviet Union are crucial to the Hungarian economy, Western Europe is the determining influence in our technical progress. In our relations with the socialist countries, I feel that, in view of the current CMEA crisis, bilateral relations ought to be sought."

Mr Lang was asked for his opinion of Hungary's relations with Western and socialist scientific organizations and programmes in the area of research and technical development.

"We don't have ideal relations with either side. Although Hungary has the chance to join in the research and development projects of the Western European Eureka group, this will not be so simple in practice. At present, only one Hungarian institute is participating in this research, something to be remedied at all costs. We could, for example, try to get into the group through cooperation with a Western European country. We should also seek admission to some US research projects. The Soviet Union is a great scientific power in numerous fields of basic research, such as heavy specific gravity physics and material sciences, and its position is not likely to change in the future. Our cooperation with the USSR and the utilization of their research results, as well as our attitude, should also be improved".

Mr Lang added that 250 joint research and development projects have been undertaken in the course of the past five years. Unfortunately, he said, Hungary's relations with the Soviet Union in this field are difficult and full of red tape, rising from inertia on the part of companies and the market. In the years to come, MTA will set up joint laboratories and companies, instead of founding large scientific organizations.

Decision on Literary Periodical Reversed

LD1702091889 Budapest MTI in English
2252 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—At its session on Thursday [16 February], the executive committee of the Csongrad County Party Committee of the HSWP termed as erroneous its decision passed in 1986, with which it suspended the publication of the literary periodical "TISZATAJ", and dismissed its editors, because the periodical carried Gaspar Nagy's poem 'From the Diary of a Boy.'

The executive committee therefore initiates that the Csongrad Country party committee repeal the 1986 resolutions referring to the "TISZATAJ" periodical. It also proposes to the executive committee of the Csongrad County council, which fulfils the state supervision of the periodical, to make a proposal for the composition of the new editorial board, by taking into consideration the merits of the editorial board and taking their interests into consideration, and requesting the views of the local society of writers.

Delegation to Strasbourg Meets EC Officials

LD1602141289 Budapest MTI in English
2142 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Strasbourg, February 15 (MTI)—Greeting the Hungarian MPs on Wednesday [15 February], Lord Plumb, president of the European Parliament [EP], stressed that the EP is hosting for the first time the legislators of a CMEA country. Then the Hungarian MPs answered questions by MEPs [members of the European Parliament] for some hours. In the morning, the Hungarian delegation met Frans Andriessen, who is in charge of external relations and trade policy in the EC Commission. In the afternoon, the delegation was met by Spanish State Secretary of Foreign Affairs Pedro Solbes Mira, president of the Council of Ministers. In the evening, Lord Plumb gave a dinner in their honour. Delegation head Matyas Szuros, president of the Foreign Affairs Committee of parliament and secretary in charge of foreign affairs of the HSWP CC [Central Committee], gave an interview to BBC, Sky Channel and RTL Plus.

Mr Szuros emphasized that the aim is to give subtance to the agreement concluded with the Community, and give a picture of the social, political and economic changes that have rapidly emerged and are aimed at creating a pluralist, democratic and socialist Hungary.

Frans Andriessen told MTI that the bilateral agreement concluded with Hungary might contribute to making the country more market-oriented and becoming a bridge for the European Communities towards the other East European countries.

Strike, Protest Actions, Settlements Reported

Strike Status for 17 Feb

LD1802014689 Warsaw PAP in English 0009 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 17—Strikes and protest actions were reported to go on or erupt in some places and end in others across Poland today.

All city transport depots in the voivodship of Piotrkow are in the 2nd week of strike. Negotiations were resumed last Thursday evening by the strikers and the administration but produced no settlement and were soon suspended.

Workers of the provincial transport enterprise in Sieradz continue a strike. Situation has not changed in the passenger division of the PKS state-run road transport enterprise in Kolo which did not send out a single bus today. The strikers demand pay hikes and continue negotiating with the managers.

Inhabitants of Starachowice also found it difficult to get to work because of city transport strike continuing alongside negotiations with the managers.

A strike at the cotton works "Morfeo" in Ozorkow, central Poland, continued through its fourth day Friday. The bank suspended credits for the plant which has put its financial situation at a serious jeopardy.

At noon today, began a nationwide protest action of the employees of the 52 Polish city transport enterprises organised by the NSZZ (independent, self-governed) Federation of Trade Unions of city transport workers. The organizers demand respect to last years agreement on new economical-financial system in those enterprises. Flags and inscriptions put up in many towns, among them Wroclaw, informed the public about the aims of the action.

Federation Leader Jozef Drukier told PAP that the governments failure to launch the new system before the deadline on January 1 caused a difficult financial situation of the enterprises affiliated with the Federation. "We do not want to prolong the protest action because it can lead to a strike," he said.

Pay conflicts in many enterprises have been settled in a conciliatory way by negotiation. For example, a strike which began February 14 at the hosiery plant "Mewa" in Bilgoraj is over now and the workers promised to make up for the production losses by working three Saturdays.

Reports from the food and vegetable processing concern "Hortex" in Sroda Wielkopolska say its 800-strong crew ended a one-day strike and work was resumed last Thursday after an agreement had been reached as to the meeting of their pay demands. The crew will come to work on one of the coming Saturdays to make up for the losses and several other postulates will be given attention by the end of March, this year.

A sit-in strike has ceased at a "Zremb" construction machinery maintenance plant in Ciechanow where the workers are already busy. They reached agreement over wages and promised to compensate for the losses by working several Saturdays in February and March.

PAP Rounds Up Strike Actions

LD2102002689 Warsaw PAP in English 2312 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 20—The crew of the "Morfeo" textile works in Ozorkow, Central Poland resumed work on Monday morning following several days of strike action.

Under an agreement reached with the management, the strike was suspended till April 20 and wage corrections were carried out. At the same time it was stressed that further possibilities of increasing wages should hinge upon improving the enterprises's economy and increasing productivity. It was also agreed that the crew would make up for the losses sustained during the work stoppage at the factory.

The protest action announced by the Federation of the Trade Union of Employees of Municipal Transportation is underway. Its organizers are demanding the implementation of the agreement reached last year on putting into effect a new economic financial system in enterprises of municipal transportation.

The appeal of the federation to halt bus and tram transportation on Monday afternoon was not heeded everywhere. Buses operating on some routes in Rzeszow stood idle during that time but only on less congested routes. On the other hand, buses and trams did not come to a halt in Lodz and Tarnow. "We think that wage issues can be solved only through negotiations and to an extent corresponding to the enterprise's capacities," Antonina Gabek, the chairwoman of the Trade Union of the voivodship transportation enterprise in Tarnow told PAP. The trade unionists from the enterprise issued an open letter to OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz in which they stated in part: "We are very concerned with the situation which has recently surfaced in enterprises of municipal transportation as well as other workplaces."

A sit-in strike is in its fifth day at the PKS state bus authority branch in Kolo. About 140 employees are within the premises of the enterprise and not one bus has operated regular routes so far. The strike has an economic underpinning. Talks were started today between representatives of the Poznan district of the PKS and the management of the PKS passenger department in Turek and the strike committee. No agreement was however reached.

Workers Strike in Zielona Gora

LD2002152189 Zielona Gora Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Today, the workforce of the needle-production section of the Nowita carpet factory in Zielona Gora stopped work at noon. The second shift of the needle-production section joined in the protest of workers of the first shift, presenting pay demands. Talks are, in fact, in progress between representatives of the strikers and the Nowita management.

Piotrkow, Starachowice Strikes

LD1802210188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] The strikes of the municipal transport employees in the Piotrkow viovodship and in Starachowice are continuing. These conflicts are of an economic character. Today's talks of the strike committee in Piotrkow with the representatives of the management and the voivoda have not yielded any results. There is, however, a certain chance for the solution of the conflicts. Financial capabilities of the enterprise are being analyzed once again to reach the compromise. The talks are to continue.

The work during the morning shift in the Orzechow plywood plant in the Poznan voivodship was stopped. The work force demands pay raises.

The work forces of the enterprises in the Bydgoszcz voivodship are not on strike, however. Without the pressure of protest actions or strikes the pay negotiations are continuing there.

Piotrkow Workers End Strike

LD1902145689 Warsaw PAP in English 1357 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 19—Last night representatives of the crews of the Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprises in Piotrkow Trybunalski took a decision to suspend the eight-day-old sit-in strike, PAP has learned.

The strike had made it impossible for the residents of the Piotrkow Trybunalski voivodship to use the public transport. The enterprise will resume its service as of Feb 20.

Morfeo Cotton Strike Ends

LD1802191189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] The strike at the Morfeo cotton industry plant in Ozorkow has ended. The work force of this enterprise will resume work on Monday. The strikers have accepted pay proposals presented by the enterprise management. The sit-in strike has been suspended until 20 April. In this period demands not related to pay will be implemented.

Orzechow Plywood Plant Ends Strike

LD2002101289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] The strike in the Orzechow Plywood Plant, in Poznan voivodship, has ended.

Szczecin Brickyard Workers Receive Notice To Quit

LD1702173489 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] The full 50-strong workforce of the Bukowo brickyard in Szczecin-Plonie received their notices this morning. According to the brickyard employees the arrogant and offensive treatment by the owner led them to adopt a resolution to begin their protest strike. The decision to lay off the workforce is, according to them, even more incomprehensible in view of the fact that buyers from throughout the country get in line for the bricks and tiles produced by the enterprise.

Students Demand Legalization of Union

LD1702191289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] [Announcer] We have received this report—At about 1500 [1600 GMT] on Krakowskie Przedmiescie street in Warsaw, in front of the palace of the office of the Council of Ministers, where the roundtable deliberations are in progress, a group of several dozen students gathered, demanding among other things the legalization of the Independent Student Union. After 10 minutes or so, the demonstrators moved in a close-knit group toward Warsaw University. The militia did not intervene. This is how it was in Bialystok:

[Unidentified correspondent] At 1530 [1630 GMT] in Kosciuszko Square in the center of Bialystok, a group of several hundred students assembled, demanding the registration of the Independent Student Union, and changes in the Constitution of the Polish Peoples Republic the Higher Education Act, and many other spheres of social and political life. In the opinion of those taking part in the rally, the roundtable discussion does not fully reflect the desires of young Poles. The students demonstrating in Bialystok tried to go to the nearby building of the voivodship party committee, to hand their demands to the voivodship's political authorities. This caused great confusion in the town center, because ZOMO [Motorized Civic Militia Detachments] barred their way. After an hour of trying, the group of demonstrators finally reached the Voivodship Committee [VC] building. VC Secretary Stanislaw Sekowski invited student representatives inside and took the demands. This led to the dispersal of the crowd.

Gdansk Youth Street Disturbances Reported

AU2002090389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Feb 89 p 2

[Report signed 'Wu-Zet': "The Same People Doing the Same Thing"]

[Text] Ending Sunday mass at the church of St Brygida on 12 February, Father Henryk Jankowski appealed to the congregation, and via the congregation to the population, not to indulge in any strike action. He stressed that even if economically justified, this kind of protest causes irreparable social harm and does not encourage the atmosphere of mutual trust and accord that Poland needs so much.

He directed a separate appeal for calm and an end to street disturbances to a group of young people who traditionally gather outside this church on Sundays, but not in order to attend a religious service; these young people are willing to disturb the public order under any pretext. They are always the same ones, a group of 200 upstarts of both sexes, wearing all kinds of badges and representing pseudo-organizations that call for "young resistance" to everything, even to what is said from the pulpit of St. Brygida's.

They always shout "Solidarity, Solidarity," "Down with the Communists," "ZOMO [Motorized Civic Militia Units] is the Gestapo," "There will be Communists on trees instead of leaves," and other offensive slogans like that, and this Sunday was no exception.

They always act in the same way. Soon after the religious service, they set off toward the railroad station with shouts, flags, stones, and petrol bombs. They react aggressively to the militia's calls to disperse and not disrupt traffic. This Sunday, they threw stones and small coins at the militia, and did everything they could to provoke the ZOMO functionaries to break up the rally outside the railroad station by force. This did not work. Seeing that the peacekeeping forces and passers-by failed to display the expected reaction to their attempts to stage street unrest, the young people dispersed, and the most aggressive of them vented their aggression on the cars of a Gdansk rapid transit train, spraying it with slogans and hanging banners out of the windows.

The same people will meet at the same time and same place next week.

Orzechowski on Roundtable, 'Struggle for Power'

LD1802215889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Voivodship PZPR report-back conferences have been held in Biala Podlaska, Olsztyn, and Walbrzych today.

Marian Orzechowski took part in the Walbrzych conference and said that at the roundtable a struggle for high stakes is taking place. It is a struggle for power and influence over the fate of the state and the country. We must reach an understanding and avoid confrontation which could have unmeasurable effects. What today is perceived as our weakness, the speaker emphasized, tomorrow can be a source of our strength.

Political Reforms Team Meets, Debates Proposals

Second Meeting Held 18 Feb

LD1802230488 Warsaw PAP in English 2129 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 18—The roundtable's team for political reforms held its second meeting here today under the chairmanship of Bronislaw Geremek and Janusz Reykowski. Government Press Bureau Representative Zbigniew Augustynowicz told PAP about the course of the meeting.

Opening the conference Janusz Reykowski recalled that the team, its work, aim at a reform of the state and institutions of power in the state. This process has a farther and closer perspective. He included the Law on Associations and the implementation of the principle of union pluralism among the fields requiring swift changes and reformatory measures.

He said further that many questions interesting the team are being considered by separate subteams. Participants in this meeting should take up problems which will not be discussed by the subteams and belong to such central issues as: reforms of the power institutions in the state enabling a fuller implementation of the principle of the nation's sovereignty. Reykowski proposed to consider the principles of the new election law and the proposal to create the institution of president.

Bronislaw Geremek in turn found it necessary to reach agreement on the calendar of democratization, to define the pace of changes in the state and its functioning. We arrange the stress of our postulates a little differently at the moment, he said, because we turn our attention towards law and courts, associations, mass media, and local self-government.

Geremek proceeded to the question of mass media. Without changes in this field, he said, we cannot see any guarantee for the progress of democratisation. We think that in the sphere of public communication we should first of all seek overcoming of the political monopoly on television, radio, press, and that the principle of proportionate share in big mass media centres to the share in public life should be observed in this field.

As for the independence of courts and reform of the law, he went on, we should expect lifting the socially inconvenient regulations, especially those introduced under the martial law and after.

Geremek also said that a democratic electoral law should permit the election of local self-government in a possibly short time.

Referring to the above, Reykowski explained that the coalition has a strong intention to reform the state. That will cover all spheres, including those mentioned by

Geremek. We have to be careful in these matters, Reykowski said. I expect we shall choose or decide upon new steps keeping in mind that such a complex mechanism as the state cannot run into anarchy or instability.

Here Kazimierz Cypryniak proposed a conception of the coming Sejm elections. Our position is, he said, that the coming elections be non-confrontative but based on the roundtable declaration that would indicate issues uniting the Poles. We should see agreement and national accord in the name of these issues.

Our proposal is, Cypryniak went on, that the Sejm of new term have, as it was to-date, 460 deputies. Candidates for deputies of all political orientations would be proposed and elected according to uniform rules set by the election law. We propose that the right to nominate candidates for deputies be given to the political parties and organisations listed in the election law, including the groups calling themselves independent or opposition, as well as any group of 5,000 citizens whatever their political affiliation.

Another proposal is to allow nomination of any number of candidates for each mandate. At least two candidates must run for every mandate. We propose to traditionally divide the country into electoral districts having 2-5 mandates depending to the administrative division. We also propose to place up to 10 percent of the mandates on the national list. They would be distributed among the political parties and orientations in the (?same) proportions as it would happen in the electoral districts. The next principle we suggest to adopt is that all the registered candidates be voted on in secret ballot.

Guided by the need for gradual reconstruction of the political system, Cypryniak said, we postulate that the national agreement council to emerge as a result of the roundtable conference determine the political structure of the mandates in the new Sejm.

The proposed solutions, Cypryniak stressed, make it possible, we believe, to bring in a democratic way representatives of all political orientations into the Sejm. These proposals, questions dealt with in previous speeches and others forwarded later were subject to discussion in which 29 persons took part.

Elections to Sejm Discussed

LD1802220388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] The roundtable deliberations are continuing. During today's meeting of the team for political reforms, co-chaired by Bronislaw Geremek and Janusz Reykowski, reforms of the state and of state political institutions were discussed. Among other things, elections to the Sejm, which would be held according to a new electoral law, were discussed. It was announced that a concept of reforming the system of the administration of justice and the law on associations has already been prepared and agreed with authoritative representatives of social circles, other than members of the government authorities.

It was proposed that a council of national accord, which would be selected as a result of the roundtable deliberations, establish the political structure of mandates for the new Sejm.

Another subject discussed during the meeting was the issue of the institution of president.

Co-Chairmen View Session

LD1802231189 Warsaw PAP in English 2210 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 18—After the conclusion of the debates of the "roundtable" team for political reforms, the co-chairmen of the debates had this to say to newsmen:

Bronislaw Geremek: That the "roundtable" did get off the ground is a good beginning for restructuring of the state structures. This was the subject of our discussion today. The point is that the main of the discussion is not a new distribution of high-ranking posts or privileges. The existing situation calls for a lot of changes. And in order to make changes one has to know which line to follow. We are to follow the line of rebuilding the democratic state system in which the citizens know that the fate of the state hinges on them because they elect the authorities and feel that it is they who give mandates. We want that the future elections to the Sejm to mark the beginning of the process of democratization. And in order for this to materialize those elections must be more democratic than has been the case so far. The point is for them to open the road for the future and for one to be able to say: "What we are building now is groundwork on which the principle be based of the sovereignty of the nation and the principle of free, democratic elections."

Janusz Reykowski: At the root of what we wanted to present is (the desire) to make a radical, basic step forward along the road of building a democratic system in Poland. I shall react to Professor Geremek's one word [as received]. He spoke about rebuilding of the democratic system. I would say that in Poland there are no real democratic traditions, therefore I would use the word "construction" of a new democratic system. Democracy does not emerge overnight but I think that what we are doing now is an important step along this way.

Co-Chairman Queried by Daily

AU1702134089 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Prof Janusz Reykowski, co-chairman of the "roundtable" team for political reform, by Maciej Urbaniak: "Mature Enough for Profound Changes"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Urbaniak] How would you assess the 1st week of the "roundtable"?

[Reykowski] Nothing happened during it that would point to the existence of insurmountable obstacles to agreement. Although there are great differences in all the teams regarding the way people think and perceive reality, there is a basis for creating a common forum for debate. It would seem that the sharpest differences concern assessments of the past and analyses of the causes behind the present situation and not the basic directions of change. [passage omitted]

[Urbaniak] As you have suggested, let us leave the subject of the past and consider the future. What lies ahead of us?

[Reykowski] I think we agree that we have to go over from an authoritarian system of government to a democratic system that exists in a socialist state....

[Urbaniak] Adam Michnik described this as the Spanish path....

[Reykowski] Yes, in the case of Spain its was possible to peacefully transform totalitarian institutions into democratic ones. However, what Mr Michnik did not mention was that these changes are taking place within the framework of the same institutional order. There is also another lesson to be drawn from Spain, from an earlier experience: Under certain circumstances, the process of moving toward democracy can mobilize reactionary forces to such an extent that the result is a national tragedy.

[Urbaniak] There are also dangers on our path...

[Reykowski] As a rule, big changes produce a period during which there is chaos. We can see this in our economy now that it is being reformed. Many old regulatory mechanisms have been removed, but new one have not taken their place yet, or the new ones that there are are not functioning properly.

The complete absence of some form of wage regulation is an example of the kind of chaos that there is in the economy. You just do not know why some people are earning great amounts of money and others are earning very little. It is said that this is because there are people who work better and people who work worse. However, this is not something that is obvious to everyone. Work forces can see that workers at a nearby plant, a plant in a similar sector where output and quality is of about the same standard, are earning tens of thousands more. This gives rise to an acute feeling of injustice. As the system does not guarantee justice, people try to obtain it by taking things into their own hands: The work force goes on strike and issues demands that are often completely fantastic. If we do not take a grip of this chaotic situation and get things under control, the danger is obvious.

People also say that we need freedom in political life. Of course this is true, but freedom that is not organized will also turn into chaos, which results in the strongest and the most ruthless being the victors. So we can say that there is really no freedom without organization. If there is no organization, freedom can turn into a new form of slavery. That is another danger that we must be aware of and prevent.

[Urbaniak] So what are the implications of this for the tasks of the "roundtable"?

[Reykowski] One of its tasks, perhaps the most important one, is getting agreement among all the social forces taking part in it on how to institute changes in Poland and on how to create new organizational forms that would increase the amount of freedom in our country without producing a situation in which freedom would turn into chaos.

The opposition is fond of repeating its slogan "there is no freedom without Solidarity," but its existence alone is also no guarantee of freedom. We have to work together on considering ways of changing the political system so that the Solidarity that emerges is a constructive element in it—so that we do not trigger a whole new series of conflicts. So the union must become one of the elements in a changed political system. [passage omitted]

OPZZ Official on Team Talks

LD1802235689 Warsaw PAP in English
2226 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 18—A press conference was held here today at the headquarters of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions.

Jerzy Uzieblo, OPZZ Vice-chairman, who leads the trade union group for the debates of the team for political reform, emphasized that already now one can speak about tangible results of the work of the "roundtable". This is so because the question of a new election law has been almost fully discussed and what remains are only technical details to be spelled out. "I hold the view", he said, "that an entirely new situation has arisen and one can say that since today social pluralism has started to function, although not yet sanctioned by law. At the same time, since that moment, a real election struggle has stated. Taking part in this struggle are different socio-political forces including the trade union movement." Uzieblo expressed the conviction that, in tune with the new election law, the trade union movement will enjoy the right to field its candidates to the Sejm.

Solidarity on Political Reforms

LD1802234189 Warsaw PAP in English
2217 GMT 18 Feb 89

[By Wieslawa Mazarska]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 18—"We deemed proposals on electoral law, presented by the coalition-government side at today's meeting of the roundtable team for political reforms, a step towards swift and complete democratization of the elections," press spokesman of Solidarity and independent milieux Janusz Onyszkiewicz said at a press conference today.

"We view the proposal as a basis for further discussion, he added, and we are ready to treat the coming electoral law as a one-time act, containing some limitations in the present transitional stage, hoping that elections after the nearest ones will be entirely free and democratic."

"We are of the opinion that elections should not be held very soon, that they could be held, say, in the autumn."

Discussing the second proposal, to set up the office of the president, forwarded during Saturday debates, Onyszkiewicz stressed that the proposed solutions were incomplete and full of contradictions and many details have to be worked out. "That is why we asked for time to take a stand on this proposal that is new to us." Onyszkiewicz stressed that the setting up of the office of the president could not be viewed separately but together with the entire package of political reforms and democratization of life.

Geremek Views Election Reform

LD1902131489 Paris Domestic Service in French 1200 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Text] In Poland, the Solidarity trade union has agreed to examine the government's election reform. The draft guarantees that the opposition will be represented in Parliament and the Polish Sejm and, at the same time allows the party in power to maintain its majority. This 'minor role' policy would represent an intermediary stage on the road to democracy. At least this is the view of one of the Solidarity leaders, Bronislaw Geremek, who was interviewed by Alain Legovguette:

[Begin Geremek recording in French] One cannot purely and simply jump from an authoritarian system to democracy. A transition period is needed. The party in power must be assured that its power will be renewed and we are for once willing to accept a contract that limits the sovereignty of the people and the use of democratic techniques. We could pledge not to present candidates in a number of constituencies. Our demand is that there should be elections. The contract can limit the ground on which this free game is to be played but there must be a free game. [end recording]

Roundtable Economic, Social Policy Team Meets

Baka, Trzeciakowski Preside

LD2002214389 Warsaw PAP in English 1808 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 20—The roundtable team for economy and social policy had its third meeting here today with Wladyslaw Baka and Witold Trzeciakowski in the chair.

Baka said the government side approached with due attention the fears voiced in the course of the previous meetings of the team and has now come up with an outline working project of key socio-economic factors in the new social contract. "While formulating the outline we thoroughly analyzed concrete proposals tabled by all sides," Baka said, adding: "We are of the opinion that by materializing the mandate of the roundtable we should focus our attention on issues of utmost importance, on which there is a chance to reach consensus."

Baka listed the above issues in 5 points. The first point embraces prompt actions aimed to increase and improve the supplies to the consumer market. The package also comprises moves to stimulate economic activity. Also, the point is to redistribute production factors, which entails changes in the law on sanating [as received] economy and on bankruptcy of enterprises. The first package also covers changes in the investment policy, attaining maximum results on the consumer market by way of cooperation with foreign countries, elimination of rationing, demonopolization, and restoration of balance.

The second point is curbing of inflation. The key condition for attaining this goal is to restore a commodity-money equilibrium. Balancing of the central budget within the next two or three years is considered an indispensable condition for overcoming the inflation presure. Among the other components of this package which runs a chance of winning a consensus is sanation of the credit-and-deposit policy and effective countering of the economy's getting dollar-based, to be attained through such moves as withdrawing Polish-made goods from internal exports (from outlets selling goods for convertible currencies).

Point three on the list entails shielding people against the effects of inflation and of radical introduction of reforms. What comes to the fore here is indexation of wages and social security as an instrument meant to protect the people against the effects of price hikes. Also, it is indispensable to work out a programme of labour security, Baka said.

Point four speaks of the new economic order, its creation being conditional on changes in the structure of ownership. This embraces socialization of state enterprises through establishing self-management ownership and through enterprises assuming the form of joint-stock companies or their assets being rented out to crews, through a return to a genuine cooperative system,, constitutional guarantees for private ownership and its permanency in Poland.

Other issues as to which compromise seems possible include demonopolization of the economy, liquidation of all forms of privileges and discrimination with regard to respective sectors, introduction of market mechanisms in economic relations, independence of enterprises and self-management of crews.

Point five of the said project concerns barriers in foreign debt servicing which should be overcome. This among other things involves normalization of financial relations with the West, including temporary grace periods for debt repayment.

Effectiveness of economic recovery will largely be determined by society's support and readiness for active participation in implementation of the outlined programme. That is why the draft provides for roundtable participants undertaking, in the name of social forces they represent, a common effort with an eye to putting an end to the currently intensifying wave of strikes, claims and collective disputes. Also, over the coming two-three years, disputes and conlficts should be settled out of court and the price-income policy should be agreed upon ad hoc by the socio state commission for prices and incomes.

Baka Addresses Group

AU2002124089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Feb 89 p 3

[Text] PAP—The roundtable economic and social policy team held another meeting on 13 February. Addressing the meeting, Wladyslaw Baka, PZPR Politburo member and co-chairman of this team, said that the government side had made a careful examination of the material provided by the team's previous session. We cannot accept the total negation of the achievements of People's Poland contained in some of the speeches at that meeting, he said. Our talks should be based on an as comprehensive analysis as possible, an analysis devoid of hasty and unjustified judgments. We suggest that our meetings not be burdened by biased judgments. W. Baka proposed that historians of various orientations be approached in order to provide an objective resume of the achievements and weaknesses of PPR economic development and an analysis of the results of reforming the economy in the 1980's.

Next, he stressed that the socioeconomic team's basic purpose is to draft a new social contract on the subject of the entire range of difficult socioeconomic problems. The talks should help resolve the most important issues of today, in other words, how to combat inflation, establish basic principles of prices and incomes policy, demonopolize food procurement, and abolish meat rationing. This also includes financial problems, especially concerning credits and savings. The government side is ready to examine them, said W. Baka. Subsequent meetings of this team should look at foreign debts and investments, ownership relations, and the role of workers' self-management bodies.

The draft also points out that a will should be expressed of concerted actions on the international arena and in contacts with representatives of foreign organizations and institutions, aimed at overcoming the debt barrier and increasing the international role and position of the Polish economy.

Baka proposed that the draft, which he described as open, be subject to a substantive discussion.

Witold Trzeciakowski said the draft was of a fundamental significance, touching upon all the key matters of concern to the opposition-Soldarity side. But as we received the document on Friday evening, there was no possibility of its being consulted within an internal working group. That is why we cannot accept the proposed discussion, and we will present our stand on the draft in a week's time, he said.

Trzeciakowski expressed his own preliminary remarks on the draft, making a reservation that they had not been agreed with his colleagues. First—he said—the five-point programme can be accepted as a starting point for holding an orderly discussion, with a possibility to put forward new points, changes, supplements and more precise wording of the proposed provisions.

Second—all arrangements made by the team for economy and social policy can be accepted together with arrangements presented by the trade union team and the political team. Third—the draft should be supplemented with figures. Fourth—the draft fails to envisage the fundamental condition of society taking part in decision-making. This co-participation and social control should find their institutional form in a second chamber of parliament. This being a matter of a distant future, current control of implementation of the social accord would have to rest with an economic consultative commission.

The proposed draft accord—Trzeciakowski went on to say—fails to take account of many a current question to be settled directly at the roundtable.

Wladyslaw Baka next proposed the formation of working groups which would concretize detailed questions and report at the next meeting on both convergences and divergences in opinions. While sharing at length the conviction that matters examined within all the teams should be viewed as one package, Baka said he would not forgive himself should it turn out that excessive delays in the work of the team for economy and social policy hindered the progress of the roundtable at large.

Team Co-Chairmen View Meeting

LD2102003189 Warsaw PAP in English 1940 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 20—PAP asked the co-chairmen of the roundtable team for economy and social policy to comment on today's debate.

Wladyslaw Baka: I thought that the document we presented could be accepted as a starting point for today's discussion, for it had been worked out with account being taken of all postulates, proposals and opinions voiced by all sides during the previous meeting.

Meanwhile, it turned out that our partners want to take up this discussion only after agreeing upon a stand and its presentation next Monday. I'm afraid that this very formalized approach may delay the work of our team and subsequently that of the roundtable as a whole. I hope we will find a speeding-up formula.

The coalition-government side displays the will of agreement. It will not refrain from adopting better solutions proposed by the opposition-Solidarity side. We are open to all proposals and to any discussion, whereas the duration of our reaching consensus depends on the political will of all sides represented at the roundtable. Hence our immense political responsibility for the success of the entire roundtable talks.

Witold Trzeciakowski: As for the course of the meeting, my assessment is very positive. It came to a preliminary explanation of positions concerning the draft text of a social accord. We pointed to shortcomings perceivable at first glance. What matters here in particular is that the government side is prepared to see us participate in the process of fixing prices and soothing wage claims, whereas we see the co-participation in much broader terms—as participation in making systemic decisions, in key issues of economic policy, including the living standards. Our stand can be confined to the principle of co-participation equalling co-responsibility.

If, however, we are to sign a social accord, we must control its implementation. This can be achieved by appointment of an interim organ, be it called a "consultative economic comission."

We proposed appointment of a working team to prepare a draft stand on the issue of crews' self-management.

Baka News Briefing After Session

AU2002131389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Feb 89 p 3

[Text] PAP—Following the 13 February meeting of the roundtable economic and social policy team, Wladyslaw Baka, PZPR Politburo member and co-chairman of this team, issued the following statement to journalists:

The talks are difficult, and there are no prospects of success yet. We are going to spend a long time on general problems, because they require extra study. However, this should not slow down the team's talks. More developed stances vis-a-vis the most important economic problems were presented today. However, we are trying to concentrate on concrete issues, but without losing sight of the general ones. For example, we would like to make progress in talks on abolishing meat rationing, creating a market economy, and achieving a real demonopolization of procurement. The participants in the main "roundtable" expect from us ideas on how to form a social contract, involving the participation of various social forces in the formulation of economic policy, and a joint responsibility for this policy by these forces.

What I said 1 week ago has turned out to be true, that the further we go, the more problems there are that have to be solved, because every single problem we come across is accompanied by differences in view. In a team like ours, in which so many different social forces are represented, it is impossible to reach a consensus in so short a time.

We are still in the process of explaining many matters. I assume there is a general desire among the social forces in our team to reach a consensus. One will be able to talk about such a consensus only when we begin to resolve certain issues. Then we will see whether or not there is a desire to listen to all arguments and present one's own ideas.

Accord at such an important period depends mainly on political will. Our talks show that this is true. If this desire exists, there will be a greater possibility of reaching compromise solutions to various matters. We are constantly emphasizing the need to reach a consensus not only on objectives, but on the ways of attaining them. For example, if we say that incentives for productive work must exist in factories, and everyone agrees with that, then we must establish ways of establishing these incentives. In particular, we must establish how to correlate wage rises with output in such a way that work incentives are harmonious with the task of restoring economic equilibrium.

Therefore, our aim is not to adhere to vague concepts during our talks, but to get down to specifics.

OPZZ Officials Criticize Proposal

LD2102003789 Warsaw PAP in English 1946 GMT 20 Feb 89

[By Wieslawa Mazarska]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 20—"Summing up the course of the hitherto work of the team for economy and social policy we must say that this is not the best possible evidence of this team's work," OPZZ Spokesman Franciszek Ciemny told a news conference here today.

He recalled that the roundtable has a moral and social duty to live up to social expectations instead of presenting political reasons of the participating sides.

Assessing the working draft of key elements of a social accord presented at today's meeting Ciemny stressed that it fails to guarantee that which the labour movement comes out for.

OPZZ Vice-Chairman Waclaw Martyniuk who was also present at the conference also criticized the draft social accord. He said it "lacked clearly presented ways, means and mechanisms of action, as well as effects which this action should bring. That is why we asked for more concrete proposals."

Asked whether OPZZ has an own draft of such an accord, Martyniuk said: "We have a general idea based on concrete rather than systemic solutions, with man and his well-being as the key target."

OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz who was also present addressed himself to certain questions raised in the hitherto roundtable debate, inflation and censorship among other things. He also briefed newsmen on the results of this trips to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

Solidarity Criticized on Approach

LD2102005389 Warsaw PAP in English 0001 GMT 21 Feb 89

[By Stanislaw Filipczak]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 20—The first two sessions of the team for economy and social policy were just exchanges of monologues presenting the stands of particular sides. Now we wanted to procede to a dialogue over concrete issues which might be included in the imaginable future social contract in its socio-economic party, Zbyslaw Rykowski, spokesman of the government side in the economy and social policy team, told newsman today.

For this purpose we presented on February 17 the government's draft document to all participants of the teams debates. Unfortunately, the Solidarity-opposition side refused to hold a discussion on this draft, stating that they had no time to discuss it in their own company, Rykowski said.

He added that the opposition's concern for unity among its members was noteworthy while the government's side did not try to influence members of its delegation to respect arrangements recommended in advance. Thus, our stand is more pluralistic, Rykowski commented.

We think that the newly elected Sejm with the participation of opposition will be an adequate constitutional forum for controlling this social contract. We would find it difficult to agree to any non-constitutional bodies for it would be difficult to avoid parallel activities of such bodies and the constitutional ones, particularly the government. We uphold the conviction that the principle of co-responsibility and joint participation should be realized but we must perceive them as existing within the Sejm, the spokesman opined.

Rykowski also made a reference to the part of the discussion which pertained to the opposition's postulate to reduce the budgets of the Defence Ministry and Ministry of Internal Affairs by 20 per cent. The opposition side tried to convince us that the postulate was of an economic character, he said. Yet, one could infer from the discussion that it was of a political character which could be traced in the voices of some of our partners. We are ready to subject the whole activity of the state machine to parliamentary supervision in the future Sejm but we cannot agree to replacing the parliament now at the roundtable. It is hard not to sense resentments and emotions in some voices. In our opinion this is not the right way to consensus. Our point is not to weaken the state administration but to expand social control over it. I want to pass a warning against returning to the practices of 1981, Rykowski said.

Solidarity Spokesman on Talks

LD2102000589 Warsaw PAP In English 2302 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 20—No substantial progress has been made so far in the talks held within the team for economy and social policy but this team deals with the widest range of topics, the spokesman of Solidarity and independent groups Janusz Onyszkiewicz told a press conference here today.

He stated that the extensive explanations by the representatives of the government and the respective Sejm committees concerning the spendings on the army, the internal affairs service, and administration had not convinced the opposition side that the expenditure could not be reduced by 20 per cent. We want to consider the matter without emotions, yet reserves should be sought also in this field, the spokesman added.

Onyszkiewicz announced that the draft of a new social contract in the field of economy and social welfare presented by the government was very important and needed to be studied closely by the opposition side. He stated with satisfaction that the sides' stands were brought closer as regards the indexation of workers' incomes (including the stand of OPZZ) but the matter required further negotiations. The discussion was also deepened on the nomenclature of managerial posts and the sides decided to create a special working group for indebtedness, he disclosed.

An activist of workers self-management, Andrzej Milkowski, close to Solidarity circles, said that in the field of self-management it was most important to decipher the notion of "social property" for the real form of workers' participation in management and distribution of resources in enterprises dependent on that. He expressed concern about the proposed managerial system which he said was in contradiction to the system of self- management.

Prof Wlodzimierz Bojarski who participated in the debates of the subteam for mining stated that all postulates raised by the opposition side were aimed at introducing economic reform also into the mining industry which, in his opinion, was still the stronghold of command-distribution system of management. Making the mining industry independent, market-oriented, and profitable would provide for a more rational use of resources. The opposition side is still demanding such a reorganization of the mining industry which would ensure a 5-day working week as a rule, Bojarski said.

Asked to comment on the postulate voiced by the Minister of Industry Mieczyslaw Wilczek to raise the consumption of energy in Poland threefold, Prof Bojarski stated that the level of consumption in Poland did not differ much from the situation in industrial Western countries, so the point was not in increasing the production but in a radical rationalization of consumption which is virtually wasteful in Poland.

Solidarity's Onyszkiewicz on Legal Reform Talks

AU1902194189 Warsaw TRYUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Feb 89 p 3

[Text] PAP—Following the meeting of the "roundtable" legal and judicial reform team on 11 February, Janusz Onyszkiewicz told the press:

During the meeting, we encountered on the part of the government side an approach that can be summarized thus: Polish law and the Polish judiciary require a thorough reform. This should be a constitutional reform, and thus reach to the very roots of the law. That would necessitate long and arduous work by our team, involving first of all an agreement on certain basic principles, and then a alteration to a series of constitutional provisions concerning certain spheres of the law. The program presented to us covers 13 basic spheres of the law, including administrative law and civil law. I listened to the reading of this program with a great amount of interest and, I can say, respect for the government side's readiness to discuss everything with us. But on the other hand, I was alarmed to discover the amount of work in store for us. Our own proposal was different. We said that there are two categories of issues that need to be discussed urgently here. The first issue is the impartiality of courts and judges, which society also considers to be a fundamental issue. The second issue involves our approach toward the human and civil rights as a basic on which the law in general should be assessed. Poland is ruled by a series of laws and regulations, old ones that date back to the Stalinist era, but also new ones.

Team Members Listed

AU1902193889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Feb 89 p 3

[Text] PAP—The roundtable team for legal and judicial reform is chaired by Lukasz Balcer and Adam Strzembosz. Its composition is as follows:

Lukasz Balcer, Kazimierz Bujak, Jerzy Ciemniewski, Lucjan Czubinski, Ryszard Grodzicki, Zenon Jankowski, Marcin Jelowicki, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, Andrzej Milczanowski, Jan Olszewski, Emilia Pogonowska-Jucha, Zbigniew Romaszewski, Jadwiga Skorzewska, Huipolit Starszak, Adam Strzembosz, Jerzy Swiatkiewicz, Jacek Taylor, Janusz Trzcinski, Zofia Wasilkowska, Janina Zakrzewska, and Tadeusz Zielinski.

Roundtable Subteam for Mining Meets, Debates

LD1802230389 Warsaw PAP in English 2318 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 17—The roundtable's subteam for mining inaugurated its work here today under the chairmanship of Marian Gustek, Rajmund Moric, and Alojzy Pietrzyk. Government press bureau representative Zbigniew Augustynowicz informed PAP about the course of debate:

Marian Gustek spoke first to say that despite high emotions over the costs of coal extraction and its price the extraction in Poland is highly profitable. But it is necessary to introduce the principles of self-financing to the mining industry. This would, however, more than double the price of coal and boost inflation. This problem, therefore, needs to be thoroughly analysed.

Gustek proposed to discuss a consensus over going ahead with the present scale of coal extraction as a minimum necessary for the implementation of re-structuring in national economy and to hammer out a common stance on coal saving policy.

OPZZ representative Rajmund Moric was also in favour of the mines' self-financing. That requires a radical change in the policy of prices on raw materials and fuels, that is adopting market rules in that policy. The rights of collieries must be expanded to maximum and ones they already have should not be limited.

We stand on the grounds of the Jastrzebie accord of 1980 and we have taken the duty of its guarantor, he said. The planning system should be based on a 5-day, not 6-day working week. Saturday extraction should be an overplan, extra work.

Alojzy Pietrzyk representing Solidarity said: "We make no general vindication demands, especially in the sphere of wages, under the present economic-social situation. But we support the general principle of indexation. We also postulate sorting out the waging policy.

It is particularly necessary to establish that miners have the right to work 5 days by the Jastrzebie accords, Basic pay should be earned during week days as in normal economy. This postulate is one of those we want to be met quickly and we are ready for negotiation over methods to prevent an extraction slump.

Our union has spoken for unconditional full independence of enterprises which should be controlled only by law. The liquidation of intermediate administrating structures is also necessary, Pietrzyk went on. [no closing quotation marks as received]

An authentic reform will allow a correct cost/effect calculus, a precise determination of efficiency and deficits of various units, as well as taking rational decisions. Changes in the mining industry revealing the actual scale and place where deficit occurs may lead in individual cases to cutting extraction, closing down some of the pits, and employment reduction. This, however, cannot in any case take place in effect of an arbitrary decision of the authorities.

In connection with the allegation of the opposition side that some miners last year and in the previous years were harassed the participants decided to appoint a working group. They also decided to continue the presentation of views on Monday, February 20.

Gustek, Moric, Pietrzyk Chair

LD2102013089 Warsaw PAP In English
2027 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 20—The "roundtable" subteam for mining affairs today gathered for its second meeting which was co-chaired by Marian Gustek, Rajmund Moric and Alojzy Pietrzyk.

In accordance with the arrangements made during the inaugural meeting, the debates were not attended by representatives of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions owing to their participation in the earlier planned meeting of chairmen of plant trade union organizations in Katowice. Present at the debates, however, was an observer of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions.

A presentation of stances was continued during the meeting.

Speaking about the principles of the economic-financial system, representatives of "Solidarity" spoke in favour of giving full independence to mines without in-between links, mines operating on the same principles of the reform as the subjects of other fields of the economy and without the status of enterprises of higher utility now in force. What remains to be solved is the problem of some of the unprofitable and subsidized mines. Profits and not the plan of extraction should be the basic criterion of operations of mines. It was moreover deemed necessary to grant the same rights to miners employed in brown coal mines and those employed in sulphur mines.

While analyzing labour safety standards, the participants in the meeting accentuated that the reason for many accidents in underground mining was the rate, time and organization of work, insufficient leisure for those employed and shortcomings in the organization of work safety measures. It was stressed that amendments to the regulations governing work conditions must be in line with the mining code of the international labour organization.

Attention was drawn to the big ecological threat of the copper basin, the Walbrzych Region and Upper Silesia. It was proposed that the economic reform in mining consist in introducing independence, profitability and market economy in the extraction industry. A proposal was also advanced of reaching agreement as concerns restoring to work people who were dismissed or called up for military service in connection with their activities aimed at protecting employees' interests, including those organizing and participating in strikes or assisting strikers.

Speaking about the state of work safety and hygiene in mining, representatives of the government side stressed that safety hazards were mounting: cave-in threats occur in 41 hard coal mines, especially in the Bytom region. Progress was reached of late in lowering the effect of hazards of this type thanks to the introduction into mines of new minings of higher durability, industrial television and active prevention. Slide hazards dominate in brown coal mines. On the other hand, big methane hazards occur in 52 hard coal mines. Natural hazards of gas and rock eruptions occur particuarly in mines of the Walbrzych region.

Last year saw 14,131 accidents in mining, that is by 4.5 percent less than in 1987.

Moderning technology now being introduced into mines will lower the number of accidents. The point is to replace as soon as possible human labour with machines in regions of the greatest threat, that is, in foreheads and galleries. Environment protection operations are also being consistently pursued.

Large outlays are also being allotted to the repair of damage done by mining. At present 50 billion zloties are being earmarked for this end and 3.5 billion zloties for land reclamation.

Much attention was focused on the issue of shaping the economic-financial system in mining and its prospects. The changes in this respect have been carried out successively since 1982. The stance of the partners are convergent in the intention of rendering coal prices real and leading to full self-financing. The question is how to reconcile the volume of extraction set in the central annual plan with independence and self-financing and how to carry this out while assuring miners of a 5-day work week. The problem also consists in not allowing coal prices to cause another price spiral in the whole economy.

The next meeting of the subteam has been set for Saturday, February 25.

Co-Chairs Comment on Subteam

LD2102023589 Warsaw PAP in English
2307 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 20—The 'roundtable' subteam for mining affairs must work out solutions for many controversies in the part of the national economy which will continue to have big importance for all fields of life in Poland for a very long time, stated Marian Gustek, the co-chairman of the subteam and chairman of the State Mining Council, during a press conference today. There are a great many matters, we will not solve all of them, he added.

The proposal of the government side aims to carry out structural changes in mining within the frame of the legal order in force in Poland while the "Solidarity" side would like to change if not everything then at least a great lot in the binding legal pattern, Gustek said, citing demands for restoring to work and paying damages to all those who were dismissed as a result of strikes held after 1981. In many cases this would signify undermining the legal sentences of courts for which the "roundtable" is not empowered, said he.

Taking a stance towards the statements of the opposition-Solidarity side that miners should not work on free Saturdays, Gustek stated that this would lead to a considerable lowering of the level of coal extraction which is determined under law by the Sejm (Parliament) and added that the government side favours maintaining the planned extraction with a simultaneous introduction of a strict regime of coal saving and rationing of its use.

Asked whether the matter of shutting down unprofitable mines was discussed, Gustek replied that in the current financial conditions it was difficult to determine which mines were profitable and which were not. This is because a levelling formula is used in the mining branch which places a burden on more profitable mins and allows less profitable ones to operate. Following the creation of new financial-economic conditions, one should expect that the least profitable enterprises will be shut down.

Replying to another question, Gustek said that all sides participating in the work of the subteam basically agreed that the ratio between the wages of miners working underground and employees not directly associated with extraction should be as 1.7 to 1.

Roundtable Agricultural Team Begins Discussions

Agenda Outlined, Members Listed

AU2002181189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
16 Feb 89 p 5

[PAP report: "A Concept for a Pro-Market Orientation of the Food Economy"]

[Excerpts] PAP—The "roundtable" team for agriculture held its first meeting on 15 February. The chairmen of the team are Stanislaw Sliwinski and Andrzej Stelmachowski.

The starting point of the talks was provided by a concept of gearing the food industry to market principles, presented jointly by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Industry; and Ministry of Domestic Trade. The government side believes that agriculture and the food industry are spheres to which market mechanisms may be introduced the most quickly, for a transfer to free prices will encourage competition and, consequently, to increased agricultural output and desirable changes to the food industry and agricultural back-up industries, and will form the basis for a permanent and profitable increase in food exports. All this will improve food supplies to the market and improve the difficult economic situation of agriculture, said the team. [passage omitted]

The composition of the team is as follows: Tomasz Adamczuk, Artur Balazs, Piotr Baumgart, Jozef Bak, Jan Beszta-Borowski, Ryszard Cholewa, Piotr Dabrowski, Jerzy Dietl, Karol Gawlowski, Edward Gnat, Leonard Godzinowski, Kazimierz Grzesiak, Kazimierz Iwaniec, Gabriel janowski, Antoni Leopold, Edward Lipiec, Janusz Maksymiuk, Edward Malecki, Wieslaw Malecki, Wieslaw Mlynarczyk, Jozef Okuniewski, Waldemar Panko, Henryk Przygodzki, Zbigniew Rokicki, Tadeusz Raczkiewicz, Grazyna Soltyk, Mieczyslaw Stachura, Adam Stadnik, Andrzej Stelmachowski, Jacek Szymanderski, Jozef Slisz, Stanislaw Sliwinski, and Antoni Tokarczuk.

Agriculture Subteam Resumes Work

LD1802104689 Warsaw PAP in English
0126 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 17—The "roundtable" subteam for questions of agriculture today held its second meeting chaired by Stanislaw Sliwinski and Andrzej Stelmachowski.

The subteam continued discussion on the economic problematique of agriculture and food complex and on restructuring of the national economy.

In general, the subteam agreed that introduction of free prices was a point of departure for improving the situation in agriculture and on the food market. However, it was visibly underscored—especially in Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski's address—that the free market should be closely tied with a basic demonopolization of the whole sphere of purchases, processing and production supply as well as the industries working for agriculture and foreign trade in farm-food produce.

The free market and liquidation of monopolistic practices can create groundwork for reasonable restructuring of the economy. And the general retructuring of the economic system should boost incentives for bigger production in agriculture and raise farmers' incomes. And affluent agriculture, in turn, will be capable of forcing favourable structural changes in industry.

Vice-Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Economy Wieslaw Mlynarczyk suggested to all sides to cooperate in working out rational solutions and economic mechanisms for the whole food complex.

The subteam picked working groups which at the next meeting scheduled for February 27 will present joint draft stance on making the food economy more market-oriented, on restructuring of the national economy and on self-government in the countryside.

Farmers on Roundtable, Solidarity

LD1802234889 Warsaw PAP in English
2223 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Rzeszow, Feb 18—A nationwide meeting of private farmers with representatives of the rural trade union movement taking part in the "roundtable" debates and its sub-teams was held here today. The meeting, organized to mark the 8th anniversary of signing the so-called Rzeszow-Ustrzyki Agreement, aimd to learn an opinion of the rural milieu on its vital questions discussed during the "roundtable" debates and to gain support on questions that representatives of the rural Solidarity plan to still present.

Several hundred most active farmers taking steps to legalize the Solidarity of private farmers from all regions of Poland arrived at the meeting chaired by Jozef Slisz. Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski and Artur Balazs told the debaters about the hitherto course of the "roundtable" debates. Particular satisfaction of the gathering was aroused by a report that consensus on the farmers' right to set up their trade union and to legalize it had already been gained during the debates.

The questions of basing prices of agricultural produce on market principles prevailed in the discussion.

The gathering deemed the proper functioning of the territorial self-government, capable of solving a number of local problems immediately and without red tape, a question of particular significance for the life of the countryside and the future of agriculture.

Subteam for Mass Media Holds First Meeting

LD1802002289 Warsaw PAP in English
2005 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 17—The 35-strong roundtable subteam for mass media started today its debate under the co-chairmanship of Bogdan Jachacz and Krzysztof Kozlowski.

Vice-director of the government press bureau Tomasz Drzewosowski informed PAP journalist about the course of the debates.

The session was opened by Bogdan Jachacz who pointed out that the sub-team's task was to critically analyze and then to propose new principles of activity of the mass media.

Next, Jachacz pointed out that these new principles of social communication comprised the question of a pluralistic society's access to mass media, the system of their functioning in the current and future situation as well as the problem of guarantees that these media would support the process of agreements between different groups, social strata and parts of society.

Jachacz presented an analysis of the situation of mass media in Poland pointing out that the period of monopoly in this sphere has ended long ago.

Emphasizing the changes taking place in the press, radio, and TV, Jachacz referred to a report of the U.S. State Department dated February 7 which reads, among other things, that the freedom of speech in Poland has been growing although at an uneven rate. The views of the opposition have been more frequently appearing in official press despite the existence of censorship and the Poles' access to independent publications, including the publications of the Catholic church, has been growing.

The way of covering the roundtable debates in the press, radio, and TV, with respect given to separate identity of all the participants, is an evidence of goodwill and the intentions in this direction. We are convinced about the need to broaden this road, but we are aware at the same time of the dangers if the changes in the system of information went too far ahead of the process of gradual restructuring of the political system.

The social-governmental side considers the to-date system of mass communication, including the way of organization and activities of the press, radio, and TV, to be outdated and to have exhausted its possibilities of development.

Political, economic, and trade union pluralism introduces the question of access to mass media by a differenciated society, or of public control over these media. This means the appearance of numerous new papers on the press market which will be issued as the trade unions returning to political scene accumulate resources. The flourishing of associations, clubs, and organizations will also enrich the press market. The already vivid competition on this market will be intensified. We are in favour of this healthy competition whose result will be determined by readers.

We think that in these new conditions there are no more grounds for illegal issuing of hundreds of larger or smaller publications which give Poland a specific tinge but their present status does not correspond with the drive of roundtable participants for legalism and their declarations on abiding the law. There is no obstacle for printing-offices and editors to leave the underground and appear on the surface of normality which, after all, is regulated by the liberal press law, Jachacz said.

Also the television and Polish radio have long ceased to be a one-way loudspeaker, although they remain to be an important instrument of Polish government's activities. Our stand is in favour of the integrity of the state-run television and radio. The ideas of dividing the broadcasting time into a number of autonomous spaces controlled from the outside do not have many good examples in the world. We think that a legally operating oppositon, a legal Solidarity, should have a just access to the TV and radio, including informative programms and news bulletins, which is guaranteed by the press law.

This also concerns the PUWP, UPP, DP organizations of lay Catholics, OPZZ, and many others. In our opinion a trade union editing body should be immediately created in the TV and radio which would enable trade unionists of various tints to present their opinions, polemics, and union activities. A similar body for religious affairs should also be quickly created and a principle of live broadcast from the Sejm should be introduced at once.

We come out in favour of a radical reform of censorship and making it similar to the one which existed in Poland before World War Two and which is practised today in many countries of the West. Our postulate is: Let us make a ban censorship (post factum) obligatory and leave the preventive censorship to those publishers who would like to use it, Jachacz opined.

Next, the floor was taken by Krzysztof Kozlowski. He said in part:

It is obvious that the very birth of various socio-political groups and, in the future, of political parties will no be of much significance if at the same time the possibilities of free use by these groups of mass media are not guaranteed. Mute associations and mute political groups are a contradiction in itself.

Hence, Kozlowski stressed, that a new information order is necessary in Poland, because the problem consists not in granting access to the state-owned mass media to independent milieux. The guest, rationed appearances of the opposition in mass media, press, radio and television are solely a proof of certain desired change in the information policy. Yet, this is far from breaking down the anachronic monopoly, from real democratization of mass media. The Advisory Press Council has not passed the test in this respect. We want mass media to serve the entire society, to be under a social control, but at the same time we demand preserving the basic right to express one's own views in one's own papers and in independent radio and TV programs.

The new information order cannot be reconciled with monopolistic structures being in total rule of the Polish United Workers' Party like the giant RSW publishing concern or the Polish Radio and Television Committee. Hence, establishing new independent publishing ventures is a basic social requirement.

The new information order requires adapting the regulations of the press law to the requirements of economic reform, to the law on enterprise. By its essence the freedom of speech and publications assumes a free conducting of press activity, hence the binding system of granting licence to the publishers should be dropped and a system of registering should be introduced, like it is done in all other spheres of economic life. It is impossible to uphold the principle that such permits are granted or cancelled by the main office of control of publications, the institution which on a current basis censors what it gives permission for, Kozlowski stressed.

In prospect, the new order must lead to liquidation of censorship. Currently, the most urgent task we consider to be the restoration of the law on censorship in its shape from 1981. We think that the functions of censorship should be phased out in a quick pace.

The most frequent pretext for refusing permits to establish new publications is a constant lack of printing paper, Kozlowski went on. As long as we are one of the world's last countries in the sphere of paper production, we have to demand an honest balance sheet of paper production and what happens with it.

We are standing at the beginning of trade union, political and economic pluralism, hence we have to find a room, in political and material sense, for independent press and the press of "Solidarity" with the "SOLIDARITY" weekly and its local weeklies. Entries concerning trade union bulletins issued in factories must be included in the law on censorship. We think that aside from trade union press, worthwhile is the creating of an independent newspaper enjoying the confidence of the millieux gathered around Lech Walesa's civic committee as well as independent radio and TV programme reflecting the views of these milieux.

The process of second circulation periodicals' adaptation to legality will probably take a while, but repressive actions should be stopped already at present, Kozlowski concluded.

In the discussion the floor was taken by: Jozef Kowalczyk, Kazimierz Dziewanowski, Zbigniew Zemler, Marcin Krol, Julian Bartosz, Grzegorz Boguta, Mieczyslaw Lesniak, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Ryszard Lukasiewicz, Janina Jankowska, Wladyslaw Serafin, Dariusz Fikus, Krzysztof T. Toeplit, Jacek Ambroziak, Jerzy Urban and Jacek Wozniakowski.

It was decided that the sub-team's next session will be held on Feb 25.

Chairman on Censorship, Unions

LD1802101389 Warsaw PAP in English
2303 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 17—The discussion during the debates of the subteam for mass media showed that the issues dealt with by it were impossible to be quickly solved. Therefore, until now the sides have not moved outside mere presentation of their stances which often were different, co-chairman of the subteam, PAP President Bohdan Jachacz told journalists at a meeting here today.

Another characteristic feature of today's debates was the fact that the opposition-Solidarity side appeared to be monolithic while the social-coalition government side was not unanimous in its views, Jachacz said.

Commenting upon opposition-Solidarity stance to the effect that Solidarity and groupings of legal opposition need their own press and access to television and radio Jachacz said that once legalized Solidarity should have its press organs. However, what poses a problem is the issue of paper which in Poland is in short supply and rationed. We share the opinion that we ought to depart from rationing of paper, but not at the cost of those who get it now.

As far as Polish television and Polish radio are concerned we support the integrity of those institutions. This does not mean we do not see the need for a markedly wider access of civic forces to those media.

I am convinced that the opposition-Solidarity side will not disappear from press or TV screens after the roundtable has reached a successful end. This would be impossible.

We paid a lot of attention to the status of censorship. I think fairly soon we will reach agreement on that it is necessary to depart from preventive censorship in favour of repressive, court censorship to be made after the material is published. However, there are fears if such a status of censorship is possible in the existing conditions of Polish judicial system which is not yet prepared for such a reform.

Answering a question Jachacz said that once a union or an organization are legalized they assume an unquestioned right to legalize its papers which until now have been published illegallty. However, with this aim in view, one should probably scrap the existing system of licences stipulated by the press law and apply a system of registration.

OPZZ Secretariat Concerned Over Treatment on TV

LD2102013689 Warsaw PAP in English
2300 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 20—The Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), debating today, sized up the participation of the trade union representation in the "roundtable" work.

The Secretariat voiced its concern over and disapproved of the way in which statements by activists of the Trade Union side were presented on TV. This draws violent response from the people concerned (that is those making statements) and critical assessments by the trade union base. The Secretariat stresses that all logical proportions in presenting statements were shaken. Irrespective of the substantial value, the opposition is omnipresent on TV screen, a statement issued after the debates of the Secretariat says.

Very rigid time limits are applied towards our activists, statements are abridged or not broadcast at all after they were recorded.

The declaration ends in a statement: We deem hitherto practices a violation of decisions made during talks concerning the way of presenting the "roundtable" debates.

Onyszkiewicz on Strikes; Agriculture, Media Talks

LD1802102889 Warsaw PAP in English
2148 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 17—Speaking about the meeting of the roundtable subteam for mining, spokesman for the Solidarity and independent circles represented at the table Janusz Onyszkiewicz told a press conference here today that the first, introductory meeting of the group could hardly be expected to produce spectacular achievements.

Some progress was reached only in the question of reprisals against the miners after the events of 1981 and the strikes of last August. There was no evident convergence of views on other issues to be discussed by the 6 negotiating groups.

Referring to the debate of the subteam for agriculture, Onyszkiewicz said the most important are problems of local self-government and the plan of introducing market rules to farming. Agreement seems likely as for the very trend but the sides are well aware of the potential threats to urban consumers and to small farms.

"The temperature of the debate went up a little and even a sparking occurred. This was caused by Minister Urban who made a few proposals that had to be protested against," said Krzysztof Kozlowski, co-chairman of the representatives of Solidarity and the independent circles in the mass media subteam.

Although the government side is ready for far-going concessions in censorship and starting an independent daily paper representing the views of Lech Walesa's Citizen's Committee, it is categorically against access to radio and television, Kozlowski said.

Summing up the debate of the mass media subteam Kozlowski said: "We ended the meeting in the so-called manly atmosphere. Let us hope it will improve by Saturday next week."

Roundtable Housing Policy Team Commences Work

AU2002181089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Feb 89 p 5

[PAP report: "Housing Construction"]

[Excerpts] PAP—Another "roundtable" subteam, the housing policy team, has commenced its work. It held its first meeting on 15 February. The chairmen of the team are Mieczyslaw Serwinski and Aleksander Paszynski. [passage omitted]

The team said that the 200,000 new apartments that were completed last year is barely half the number required in order to satisfy accumulating needs. However, the present 5-Year Plan, which calls for the construction of over 1 million apartments, also calls for the refurbishment of 950,000 old ones, which is a new feature, said the team. [passage omitted]

There was general agreement on the need to build more private housing accommodation. The conditions for doing so were listed. It was held that the present rough path that private investors have had to follow should be made smooth. It was also agreed that those building private accommodation should share a greater proportion of the building costs. [passage omitted]

It was agreed that the team's next meeting will be on 23 February.

The composition of the team is as follows: Janusz Bielak, Jerzy Dluzniewski, Andrzej Dobrucki, Mieczyslaw Gil, Jerzy Gruchalski, Zbigniew Janowski, Boleslaw Kierski, Hanna Kulesza, Bogdan Lukasiewicz, Lucjan Mieczkowski, Ryszard Niwinski, Roman Nowicki, Aleksander Paszynski, Wiktor Piwkowski, Lech Radke, Stefan Rutkowski, Tadeusz Sanecki, Mieczyslaw Seriwnski, Czeslaw Uhma, Barbara Wolnicka-Szalek, Marian Wysocki, and Zbigniew Zawistowski.

Daily Hails Roundtable Opening Talks

AU1902191989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Feb 89 p 1

[Jerzy Bielecki commentary: "Determination"]

[Text] Someone has called the "roundtable" a "contest for Poland." He was wrong. Poland, our supreme asset, can never be the object of a game. It must be the subject of general concern. The "table" that has just met has a chance of exceeding the framework of the tables that are usually associated with card games like poker.

We appreciate the importance of this event, which did not come suddenly, but is the result of historical development. The roots of the "roundtable" lie in the crisis of 1980 and 1981. It was then that our party realized that it is high time to break the vicious circle of crises of authority, dispense with all the evil in socialism caused by Stalinism, and establish society's confidence and support, the most important qualities.

Those who failed to see the party's determination to reach national accord under the conditions prevailing in 1980 and 1981 have not learned much. Those who cannot remember the Ninth Congress decisions concerning national accord and those who have forgotten the October 1981 party offer of a broad front of national accord, which gained the preliminary acceptance of the primate and Lech Walesa—but not of "Solidarity" circles in Gdansk, which rejected it—have a biased view of today's "roundtable" and consider it to be the result of pressure from certain social milieus.

As early as January 1982, the State Council chairman stated something that is still valid: "It does not matter where one comes from." This offer remained open all the time after that, an offer of accord, not destabilization. Were it not for the strikes in May 1988, the planned meeting between a deputy premier of the time and Walesa would have taken place.

Perhaps the strikes do not help an accord, but interfere with it instead? Perhaps social calm is needed before such an accord can occur?

The 10th plenum showed that the party's determination to reach an accord has nothing to do with doctrine. This is a determination for the sake of Poland.

However, this accord must be based on facts, for example the attainment of a consensus on nonconfrontational elections and the implementation of a package of political and economic forms, facts inseparably connected with the introduction of de jure pluralism.

Not even the most spectacular of gestures will replace the kind of compromise for which society is waiting. Society will gain nothing if all the "roundtable" participants argue about their identities in front of the television cameras.

No one is going to lose his identity at this "table." The matter possesses a far broader dimension.

Council of Ministers Discusses Foreign Policy

LD2102005689 Warsaw PAP in English 2320 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 20—The Polish Council of Ministers today assessed the current international situation and implementation of the Polish foreign policy tasks in 1988 and adopted the "key tasks of Polish foreign policy in 1989". The debaters approved of conclusions and tasks stemming for Poland from the final document of the Vienna CSCE meeting, the Government Press Office said.

The Polish Government said that improving international situation, enlivenment of East-West relations and the start of the process of real detente contributed to an improvement in external conditions to pursue Polish political and economic reforms.

The development of all-round relations with the USSR and other socialist states based on partnership, the consolidation of allied cooperation within the Warsaw Treaty and adjusting the CMEA to the growing role of economic mechanisms of cooperation remain the leading tasks of Polish foreign policy.

Open policy towards industrialized Western states will be continued. The debaters also stressed the significance of active relations with developing countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa.

The government will pursue an active policy towards emigres and create conditions to tighten Polonias' ties with Poland.

The debaters adopted assumptions of the main actions in economic cooperation with abroad in 1989. Attractive conditions to expand and establish new economic contacts with abroad were created thanks to new legal solutions.

The government approved a report on the realization of the state's policy on religious affairs in 1988. It served to consolidate the freedom of conscience and confession, the lay character of the state and freedom of performing religious functions by churches and other religious organizations. A draft convention between Poland and the Holy See, to serve as a basis for establishing full diplomatic relations, has been prepared. A draft law guaranteeing freedom of conscience and confession is being prepared. The work on a draft law on the states attitude towards Roman Catholic Church is in its final stage.

The government adopted a draft law on municipal property aiming to form material foundations for territorial self-government. The Council of Ministers together with the Council of State will launch legislative initiative on the law on municipal property.

The debaters approved legal acts on legal and economic protection of employees of shut-down state enterprises.

Olechowski Grants Interview for POLITYKA

AU1702150689 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 11 Feb 89 pp 12, 13

[Interview with Tadeusz Olechowski, PPR minister of foreign affairs, by POLITYKA reporters Adam Krzeminski, Marek Ostrowski, and Witold Pawlowski: "Polish Interests in a New Europe"—date, place not given]

[Text] POLITYKA: Mr Minister, speeches by Minister Wilczek, Wroblewski, or Jastrzebski may seem the most exciting ones today, whereas international affairs seem rather "ordinary" in comparison. We seem to know everything about them.

Olechowski: An economic aktivist may expound his views, even the most surprising ones, and try to implement them quickly. But foreign policy requires calmer action. Yes, it does involve imagination and energy as well, but these qualities are spread out over a longer period of time.

POLITYKA: However, the situation has changed since we interviewed your predecessor in this office 18 months ago. The situation today is not even a "second detente" anymore. It is a real search for possibilities of cooperation between two opposing blocs. What has really changed in Poland's situation?

Olechowski: Poland is really in a better situation today than it was 18 months ago, when you interviewed my predecessor, Professor Orzechowski.

First, the trend toward detente and cooperation in international relations has clearly strengthened. The whole world is considering Gorbachev's vision of restructuring international relations according to the "new thinking." These are the prerequisites for real disarmament, including the implementation of our political thinking contained in the Jaruzelski Plan. The policy of dialogue between the USSR and United States, and between East and West, gives us the chance to implement our domestic reforms successfully and attract Poland's key partners to constructive cooperation, which will make it easier for us to solve our economic-financial problems.

Second, the convergence of Polish reforms and democratization with Soviet perestroyka and glasnost have led to a new quality of Polish-Soviet relations. An unprecedently good state of relations with the USSR ensures us of essential support by our chief ally for Polish internal changes, and, at the same time, strengthens Poland's position within the socialist community and vis-a-vis our Western partners.

Third, our internal development is slowly but surely ceasing to be a burden on our foreign policy. Our domestic changes are making Poland an interesting partner for other countries and peoples. The new relations between the authorities and society are leading to a qualitatively new internal situation in Poland, and are making the country more open toward the outside world. All in all, this permits a better realization of Poland's interests in the international arena.

POLITYKA: Our diplomatic relations livened up toward the end of 1988. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher visited us, you visited the United States and France, the first official visits by a Polish foreign minister to these countries in 8 or 9 years. Was this an attempt to make up for what we had missed and shake off the ostracism imposed on us during martial law?

Olechowski: It is no exaggeration to say that as far as political dialogue is concerned, we have practically made up for everything we have missed. The United States and

France are examples of this making up. However, we have not yet managed to fully restore and normalize economic-financial cooperation with the West. The progress here is still unsatisfactory, despite our efforts. But even so I detect an optimistic note; the combination of our internal restructuring with our increasing openness toward the outside world is increasing our political credibility in the international arena, especially in the West. And if our economic reforms succeed, our economic credibility will also increase.

POLITYKA: Nevertheless, new challenges are appearing. Western Europe is becoming integrated and a new situation is emerging in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. Can we afford to meet these challenges?

Olechowski: We are meeting these challenges as much as we can afford to. We have established official relations with the EEC, and are holding negotiations on a trade and economic agreement. We are preparing to establish full diplomatic relations with the Vatican. We are aiming to establish relations with all the countries of the Arabian Peninsula and Persian Gulf. We have recognized Palestine, and at the same time achieved progress in contacts and cooperation with Israel. We are intensifying our economic relations with the countries of Southeast Asia, the latest example of which is an exchange of foreign trade missions with South Korea. Those are a few examples of our actions. Their common denominator is a desire to consolidate our interests in response to the changes taking place in Europe and the world. Of course we cannot be everywhere, but we want to be effective in those places where we are.

POLITYKA: What are the greatest dangers to our foreign policy?

Olechowski: If we want a Poland that has shaken off its isolation and possesses a normal place in bilateral and multilateral international politics, whether in Vienna, or Geneva, or the United Nations, then we have to quickly settle a series of affairs in order to make a rapid move forward toward the kind of Poland we want. The first such affair is definitely foreign debts, or the tangle of debts, as Premier Rakowski described it. Our debts amount to almost $40 billion. Everything we earn by our exports does not even cover half the interest we have to pay each year. Therefore we are compelled to permanently discuss a restructuring of debts with our creditors—old debts, and the new debts that keep on rising as a result of a failure to repay interest in full.

POLITYKA: Apart from debts, what else keeps us in chains?

Olechowski: The integration of Western Europe, the technological gap, and the environmental threat are major challenges for us. So are the difficulties caused by our internal situation, though these are less of a problem now.

POLITYKA: Walesa's visit to Paris showed that an internal situation can be used as a trump card.

Olechowski: For many years, the world viewed us in a critical light, whether we liked it or not. We felt exposed, and rejected interference in our domestic affairs. But it is a fact that during the 1980's, a bad image of Poland formed itself not only in the minds of political circles, but also in the minds of society. This image has improved, in line with our stabilization and the progress achieved in implementing the reforms. This has become obvious in recent months. Right now, new possibilities are appearing before us. Since the Eighth PZPR Plenum and the appointment of the Rakowski government, a new structure of political life has been appearing in the country, one of the pillars of which is a changed, and even new, political system based on democracy and on economic, social, and political pluralism. A considerable part of the world is viewing these changes with interest; not only our allies, but also our Western partners. If we succeed, the domestic situation will begin to...

POLITYKA: ...cause not losses, but gains in Polish foreign relations?

Olechowski: ...improve Poland's world position and international image.

POLITYKA: It is frequently said that Poland occupies a sensitive spot in Europe. Does that mean we cannot settle our affairs the way we would like to, and that we must limit our aspirations?

Olechowski: We are not an oasis in Europe. The speed, path, and extent of our transformations are not without influence on the international situation, on the fortunes of other states and peoples in Europe, and on East-West relations. But that does not mean at all that we have to limit our hopes of finding our rightful place in the world. We have to act in a responsible manner, respect the interests of others, and demand that others respect our interests. We do have the right to furnish our home the way we want to. At the United Nations, Gorbachev recalled every country's right to choose its own path. I think Poland's open attitude toward all its partners and toward all spheres of foreign contacts is a reflection of this right. I would like us to be even more pragmatic and consistent in our action.

POLITYKA: Are we really able to take advantage of the great chance posed by history and the changes in the Soviet Union? I think foreign policy in Poland and the socialist countries was easier in the past. On the one hand, one did have to struggle for a recognition of the border along the Odra and Nysa rivers, but on the other hand it was enough to follow in the footsteps of Soviet foreign policy. Today, the situation is changing, and we feel somewhat timid and helpless. In any case, that is what some people in Poland feel.

Olechowski: Let us begin by saying that Gorbachev's new thinking did not come as a surprise to us. Many features of this refreshing stream have been present in Polish foreign policy for decades, and they were not dictated to us from abroad. Remember Rapacki and his plan. That plan contained the seeds of the new thinking! In other words, we did not always repeat what others said. I would say that in the past, Polish foreign policy was so flexible that the new thinking that was introduced in the middle of the 1980's did not come as a shock to us. In fact, we were waiting for it all the time.

POLITYKA: All right, but a series of old assessments and decisions are currently being revised in Soviet foreign policy. One example is Afghanistan. Another example is the shouldering of some of the responsibility for the cold war and arms race. Do you see the need for any such reassessments and revisions in Poland as well?

Olechowski: By all means. However, these revisions would be on a smaller scale, appropriate to Poland's status as a medium-size state. It is essential to revise many alleged axioms because the world is gradually proceeding from a balance of forces to a balance of interests.

POLITYKA: However, the question of Poland's role in international politics remains. If we still guide ourselves by old habits, are we prepared for greater independence, or are we condemned to a universal dependence?

Olechowski: First of all, in today's world everyone is dependent on everyone else. Second, the principle of independence in foreign policy is a priceless quality for Poles, as evidenced by our national traditions and historical experience. There is no doubt that the Soviet perestroyka and new thinking are opening far broader prospects before us than in the past. Gorbachev's concept is based on a broad democratization of international relations and coordination of national interests on the basis of international law and on the basis of a stronger role of the United Nations. This is giving small and medium-size states like Poland bigger chances of energetic joint activity. Today, these countries can defend their own interests themselves, and not just via intermediaries or with the help of the major powers. However, one must also remember that sovereignty must not lead to isolationism, to an abandoning of joint dependence. In Poland's situation and position, that would be absurd.

POLITYKA: Isolationism would be absurd, but perhaps it might make us take a fresh look at our partnerships within the alliance?

Olechowski: However, that is already happening. Our partnerships within the alliance are also changing. They are ceasing to be sterile and uniform, and are becoming more varied. A coordination of interests and real partnership is the governing criterion nowadays. Just like the USSR, Poland has removed the shackles of the Stalinist concept of socialism. This is not leaving Polish foreign policy unaltered. It is making us abandon the Stalinist philosophy of international relations.

POLITYKA: Where exactly can one see greater independence and incentive of action for the sake of Polish interests?

Olechowski: We are attempting to redefine our interests, the interests of a nation living between two other great nations. We are trying to take into consideration changing centers of gravity, especially in the economic and scientific spheres. We want our defense and CEMA alliance to adapt to the evolution of international relations. We have put forth the Jaruzelski Plan, which is the outcome of independent Polish political and military thinking, aimed at providing the best possible guarantees for Polish interests in a disarming Europe, and making the center of Europe safe. However, there are other examples as well. We are energetically establishing contacts and seeking forms of cooperation with other institutions in the Western half of Europe; in other words, not just with the EEC, but also with the Council of Europe, European Parliament, North Atlantic grouping [Zgromadzenie Polnocnoatlantyckie], and other organizations. The same applies to the OECD. We also want to establish relations that would lead to closer cooperation.

POLITYKA: Including the kind of cooperation that would lead to Poland's becoming an observer or even joining some international group?

Olechowski: Why not? If relations like these can bring us certain economic or scientific advantages, then I do not rule them out. When it comes to coordination of our interests with the interests of our allies and Europe, there is no taboo.

POLITYKA: These are examples of a reaction to current development. However, what we would like to hear are examples of a revision of the Stalinist philosophy of international relations.

Olechowski: By all means. We are abandoning the old taboo on contacts with the outside world.

First, we are ceasing to view the West as an opponent. We are starting to view the West as a partner that is historically and culturally close to us in many respects. We see the differences between us and the West not as a danger, but as an encouragement to compete, especially in the cultural sphere.

Second, the Foreign Ministry is playing an energetic inspirational role in consular affairs and relations with Poles abroad. We want a Pole to feel that he is a "European citizen," as the premier has said. Right now, every single Pole can have a passport in his pocket, and has complete freedom of movement. We are abandoning the practice of watching who goes where. The old dilemma of will I get a passport or not will become a thing of the past.

The third example is the unpleasant and embarrassing practice of travelling abroad in order to work. For years, we did not admit to the fact that multitudes of people were leaving Poland. It is ridiculous to label these people political refugees, because most of them are not. It is with sadness that we have to admit that we are still not in a position to fulfill the aspirations of thousands of young people. We are forced to confess that these people want to go abroad in order to earn money. This must be made legal in order to make life easier for them; but at the same time we will not sever ties with them.

The fourth example is: We treat the differences in interests that appear in our bilateral relations with our allies differently today. We do not conceal these differences, but we do not exaggerate them either. We want to resolve these differences by means of an understanding and respect for mutual relations.

POLITYKA: This openness toward the world is also having an effect on us. Does it mean that foreigners will be able to settle in Poland and buy property here?

Olechowski: We want to create such a possibility for people of Polish descent. Together with the "Polonia" Society, we are dedicated to solving this problem. Many thousands of old emigres are seeking to return to Poland and buy a house and land here, even though they hold American and French passports. So you can see that many taboos are being broken.

POLITYKA: Does that apply to German issues as well? This has always been a very sensitive area of Polish foreign policy.

Olechowski: There is no and there can be no vicious circle in Polish foreign policy. The country's needs and international challenges are too great for us to be passive in this sphere. The FRG is also displaying a great amount of interest in an accord with Poland. In any case, on the eve of the 50th anniversary of World War II, it is difficult to live exclusively in the past. Though we must not forget the past, we must take a fresh look at coexistence between Poles and Germans and guarantee a permanent basis for peaceful Polish-German coexistence on the threshold of the 21st century. As far as relations with the FRG are concerned, it means a possible alteration of our stance vis-a-vis matters that have been the subject of difficult negotiations ever since Minister Genscher's visit to Poland in January 1988. Minister Kwasniewski has already begun talks with the West German side on the subject of Chancellor Kohl's proposed youth exchanges. The appropriate draft agreement is being prepared. The number of young people involved is bound to be less than the 350,000 involved in youth exchanges with the GDR, but the important thing here is to break the barriers that still exist.

POLITYKA: That would indeed be something new, because we have avoided it in the past.

Olechowski: Contacts and youth exchanges with the FRG via various channels have grown steadily in recent years. Nevertheless, there is an absence of an international institutional and financial framework that would permit a more intensive development thereof. In this sense, the accord that is being prepared would be a real novelty; and not only in relations with the FRG, but with the entire West. Another concrete example are the preparations to open culture institutes. We want these institutes to propagate not only standard culture, but also to provide scientific and technical information, so important from the point of view of our development needs.

POLITYKA: In other words, not just Goethe, but also Max Planck?

Olechowski: Exactly. One can mention many other issues that are part of the "package" of topics which we are discussing with the FRG and which were still taboo until recently.

POLITYKA: While on the subject of this "package," so much has been said about it in over the past year, but no real progress has been made. Now, formal and informal diplomatic contacts have speeded up. You have spoken to Minister Genscher in Paris and Vienna, and Premier Rakowski paid an unexpected working visit to the FRH at the invitation of President Von Weizsaecker. Does that mean that after 1 year of marking time, a breakthrough in Polish-FRG relations has occurred?

Olechowski: The progress achieved in such spheres as youth exchanges and culture institutes shows that 1988 was not wasted. The list of topics in which we have made progress is far longer. It includes preparatory talks for the signing of agreements on scientific cooperation, the opening of new consulates in Hamburg and Krakow, and cooperation in environmental and health protection. However, the talks with the FRG have also shown that there is still a lack of consensus on some issues. Premier Rakowski's recent FRG visit and talks with key representatives of this country's political life was a major stimulus to resolving these differences. The good climate of these talks and the appointment of plenipotentiaries representing the two heads of government, Ernest Kucza of the PZPR Central Committee Foreign Department; and Horst Teltschik, director in the Federal Chancellery, permit hopes for a successful preparation of an accord that would permit an official visit by Chancellor Kohl to Poland before the end of the year. Before then, in March, I intend to pay an official visit to Bonn at Minister Genscher's invitation. Such a favorable development of our relations would be particularly significant on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the German invasion of Poland.

POLITYKA: Let us change the subject. Today, with the USSR, we are resolving, on the spot, matters that no one dared to mention loudly for 40 years, for example the recognition of the Polish community in the USSR. One might get the impression that we have not made enough effort to resolve important issues in the past, whereas today we can do what we want and encroach on territory that has been made accessible to us.

Olechowski: Is that all we are doing? We are indeed encroaching upon such territory, but not only that. Most of the constraints of the past are no longer valid. The remainder are flexible, and together with our Soviet partners we are examining the possibility of reducing these constraints even further or eliminating them altogether.

POLITYKA: Could you give other examples of these? What kind of topics are we imposing on the other side?

Olechowski: As soon as we wxpressed our concern over the building of a freeway near the cemetery in Vilnius, they stopped work on this freeway. The same applies to the graves at the Lyczakow Cemetery in Lvov. These graves are now being restored. There is no major sphere of mutual relations in which the initiative has come purely from the Soviet side. We are making progress all the time.

POLITYKA: That is a particularly interesting topic for Poles, but please give us more examples.

Olechowski: One can see a new quality of Polish-Soviet relations not only in the official sphere, but also in contacts between the two societies. I have in mind enterprises and companies, trade unions, sociopolitical associations, and youth associations; the increase in tourist traffic; and cultural exchange. The dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church in Poland and the Russian Orthodox Church is another example. Other examples are the opening of a Polish information and culture center in Moscow, the opening of a Polish consulate in Lvov and another one in Vilnius soon, an expansion of cross-border traffic, the opening of new border crossings, the relaxation of passport and customs formalities, and an increase in the number of telecommunications links. What about the USSR Polish community's new right to form sociocultural associations, the permission for Soviet students of Polish descent to study in Poland, and the broad participation of Soviet artistic groups and athletes of Polish descent in arts festivals or games in Poland? The list is long, and I have not mentioned everything.

POLITYKA: The list is indeed long, though it does not cover everything. Investigations into the issue of Katyn are still not over.

Olechowski: The changes that have taken place are but the beginning of a great process. There is still a great amount of mistrust and doubt to be overcome on each side. There are still many difficult issues to be resolved. However, the common denominator in all these undertakings is a joint desire by both sides to set new standards that correspond to the internal changes in our two countries and to the norms of coexistence in Europe at the end of the 20th century. This is a great historic chance for our states and peoples. In order to make the most of it, we must explain completely all the dramatic events of our joint history, even if it takes a little longer.

POLITYKA: So how do you view our place in Europe, "between Germany and Russia"? How much of Gorbachev's proposals for Europe have we digested? Do we have a long-term plan of "making our presence felt in Europe"—establishing contacts, carrying out exchanges, adapting our rules and standards to European norms?

Olechowski: Our place in Europe is clearly defined. Our history and our present reality have defined it. As a socialist state, ally and closest neighbor of the Soviet Union, and member of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, we are politically tied to the East. But at the same time, from the point of view of culture and civilization, we belong to the West, to the sphere of Christian culture and civilization. Spiritually, Polish society feels connected to the socialist system of values and to Christianity. Apart from that, most of the several million Poles abroad live outside the socialist countries. Geographically, however, we are in the center of Europe. Therefore, we have better conditions than most other European countries to act as a sort of link between East and West. I see a major role for Poland in this respect.

POLITYKA: How does our foreign policy reflect this reality?

Olechowski: Our foreign policy takes this reality into account. That is why our international activity possesses an all-European nature, in other words it involves establishing and consolidating various links between all European countries, overcoming of divisions, and establishing a "European identity."

We are starting to "make our presence felt in Europe" from scratch. The philosophy of a "common European home" is what guides us here.

First, today one can see better than ever before that our postulates concerning foreign policy coincide with our policy of reforms and democratization. In Poland's foreign relations and inside Poland itself, we want to achieve a decent European standard just like in most other European countries. We have to put our house in order before we can build a better Europe more effectively.

Second, such an establishment of all-European standards is essential in the socialist part of our continent. In other words, we must adapt our "Polish apartment" and "socialist floor" in such a way that they may become part of the "common European home."

POLITYKA: How important are the results of the Vienna CSCE talks here?

Olechowski: This is a program of European development toward a "common European home." It is favorable for Poland, because it opens up the prospects of conventional disarmament and supports our policy of reforms, internal democracy, and openness toward the world.

Reportage on LCY Central Committee Session

New Presidium Members

LD1702175789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1735 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—Late this afternoon, by secret vote, the LCY Central Committee elected four new members to the LCY Presidium [as received]. They are: Momir Grbovic and Perko Vukotic from the Montenegrin LC; Boris Muzevic from the Slovene LC; and Stanko Radulovic from the Vojvodina LC.

A new member of the Presidium from the Kosovo LC was not elected today, as one of the candidates, Ramadani Skender, was not elected to the LCY Central Committee, so a member of the Presidium from the Kosovo LC will be elected at the next session.

A member of the Presidium from the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC will be elected at the next session, as no candidate from their republican LC organization was proposed at today's session.

New Central Committee Members

LD1702211389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1820 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—At the 21st session of the LCY Central Committee, 33 new members were elected. They are:

From the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC, 11 members: Muhamed Abadzic, 85 votes; Darinka Djuraskovic, 72; Omer Filipovic, 75; Veljko Galic, 75; Zdravko Grebo, 89; Dragan Kragulj, 74; Mijo Maros, 70, Darinka Tesic, 77; Filip Vukovic, 69; Dragan Kalinic, 68; and Nijaz Skenderagic, 67.

From the Montenegrin LC, 6 members: Dragan Mikovic, 100 votes; Momcilo Knezevic, 97; Andrija Nikic, 93; Borivoje Kuc, 86; Musaja Pepic, 83; and Radivoje Jokic, 83.

From the Macedonian LC, 5 members: Pandorka Blazeva, 99 votes; Ljupce Jordanovski, 75; Karalampi Krstevski, 71; Ampo Djordjevski, 63, and Blagoj Handziski, 61.

From the Serbian LC, 2 members: Vlajko Stojilkjovic, 72 votes; and Petar Skundric 67, in the third round of votes.

From the Slovene LC, 2 members: Bozidar Debenjak, 84 votes; and Janez Kocijancic, 87.

From the Croatian LC, 2 members: Zdenko Krajina, 81 votes; and Enver Sehovic, 65, in the second round of votes.

From the Kosovo LC, 4 members: Ali Buza, 104 votes; Ljubomir Radovic, 104; Liman (Sahit) Matosi, 86; and Jusuf Zejnulahu, 82.

From the Vojvodina LC, 1 member: Svetozar Krstic, 75 votes.

One hundred and one members of the Central Committee voted.

Additional Coverage

LD1702183289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—This evening, some time after 1830 [1730 GMT], the 21st plenum of the LCY Central Committee was concluded, whose main topic was cadre renewal of the top party forum and its Presidium.

Today the Central Committee elected 33 new members of the Central Committee in accordance with criteria of cadre renewal established at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee. Four new members were elected to membership of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and they are: Perko Vukovic and Miomir Grbovic from the Montenegrin LC, Boris Muzevic from the Slovene LC, and Stanko Radmilovic from the Vojvodina LC.

Plenum Proceedings Reported

LD1702231789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1007 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—Cadre issues were the main topic of the 21st session of the LCY Central Committee which began after 0900 GMT today in the Yugoslav Assembly building. [passage omitted]

Within the framework of cadre issues the session considered a report by the working group, set up by the Central Committee at the previous 20th session, with the task of examining the soundness of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee's initiative for establishing the ideopolitical responsibility of LCY Central Committee members Mate Andric, Hrvoje Istuk, Milanko Renovica, and Nikola Stojanovic. The working group concluded that the initiative of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee was well-founded and proposed to the Central Committee that these four be relieved of membership in the highest party forum.

Explaining the working group's report, its head Antun Kruljac, first recalled that the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee started this initiative because of the summer houses and objects for leisure in Neum and of spending social means improperly, that is, for the purpose of acquiring these objects.

The ideopolitical responsibility of these members of the LCY Central Committee, Kruljac said, is not a question of legal norms but most of all a question of social and political consequences which have emerged and which constitute a real burden in the eyes of the general public. Hence, the working group was considering the moral attitude of the LCY Central Committee members in the first place.

Hrvoje Istuk, Milanko Renovica, Nikola Stojanovic, and Mato Andric are objectively responsible—regardless of previous circumstances which in many aspects were different from those today—since, as regards the functions they were holding, they had not been aware of the unacceptability, irregularity, and detriment of their moves in connection with the construction of the summer houses and objects for leisure in Neum and had not done what they could to suppress and prevent this but instead they had rather taken part in it.

Consructing the summer houses and objects for leisure in Neum on the part of the said comrades, Kruljac said, was not a calculated and conscious move to gain any benefit in terms of property, nor was it any other form of misuse.

However, Kruljac resumed, one cannot rule out the possibility that the social status and functions of these comrades had an element of certain privileges.

Hrvoje Istuk, Milanko Renovica, Nikola Stojanovic, and Mato Andric are responsible for using social means improperly. They used long-term housing loans, Kruljac added, for constructing the summer houses and objects for leisure. In light of their social and political functions they should have known that this was impermissible.

Refering to the fact that they have repaid all four loans, Kruljac said that they did not dispute their objective responsibility, but they pointed out all the circumstances that existed at the time of the distribution of plots and loans, such as the imprecise nature of the legal regulations and the general practice, or interest of the banks. At the same time, they stress the need for the LCY, and especially the LCY Central Committee, to adopt a united stance for all similar cases throughout the country.

The working group, Kruljac says, deems that the establishment of the responsibility of Hrvoje Istuk, Milanko Renovica, Nikola Stojanovic, and Mato Andric does not bring into question their overall sociopolitical and working activity.

Comprehensively assessing all the facts and circumstances that have been made explicit, the working group believes that because of the individual responsibility of Hrvoje Istuk, Milanko Renovica, Nikola Stojanovic, and Mato Andric, they are in no position to operate successfully as members of the LCY Central Committee.

Their remaining in the LCY Central Committee would objectively destroy action unity in the LC and devalue the efforts to reaffirm the responsibility and moral character of the work and behavior of LC members.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee initiative, Kruljac said, should be accepted as a principled stance on this question, and so the working group proposes to the LCY Central Committee that Hrvoje Istuk, Milanko Renovica, Nikola Stojanovic, and Mato Andric be relieved of their duties as memebrs of the LCY Central Committee.

Kruljac mentioned that in connection with this report by the working group, Andric, Istuk, Renovica, and Stojanovic sent a joint document to the president and secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in which they point out that the working group deviated from the initiative to establish their ideopolitical responsibility and assess their political responsibility. The working group, they believe, failed to adhere to the initiative of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee to link the degree of their responsibility to the use of loans but extended the responsibility to all questions in connection with the construction of weekend houses and vacation homes in Neum.

The working group did not even respect the fact, this document alleges, that they had submitted their resignations as members of the LCY Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The working group could not dismiss the fact that the social and political consequences that have emerged pose an objective burden in the eyes of the general public causing damage to the LC and also that these acts are inconceivable in terms of the moral posture of the LCY member. The resignations, Kruljac said, were considered by the working group since three resignations had already been tendered before the initiative was set in motion. Also, neither the Bosnia-Hercegovina nor the LCY Central Committee were paying any attention to the resignations.

Although the working group had learned about the resignations, three of them already tendered and one heralded by that time, it nonetheless was convinced that there was evidence to propose to the LCY Central Committee that they be relieved of duty—not because of the reasons cited in the resignations but rather because of what had been stated in the initiative of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee and in the findings made in the course of the work by the working group. [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 12-14 not received]

Petar Matic's revolutionary, war, and military contribution, Radovan Pankov said, has never been disputed. The issue here is Matic's part in the exessive autonomy policy, which the people of Vojvodina condemned, and the fact that he did not understand the nature of democratic processes in that province. [passage omitted]

Replying to Pankov, Matic stressed that this LCY Central Committee "does not know that he has not supported" recent policy in Vojvodina. I was of the opinion that some people in the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee have become yesterday's men and that they should go. Suspecting difficulties, not just in Vojvodina but in the whole country, I kept on warning that leadership in the province should be given to people who proved themselves in practice. What has been said now was not mentioned at all.

I am one of about 10,000 partisans from Vojvodina, Matic said, one of the rare prewar Communists, and I want to say that the CPY/LCY fought for united Yugoslavia in the war. If someone wants to forget this, naturally, I cannot be with them.

Our problems are not just in Vojvodina, but are problems of bureaucracy which acquired unanticipated proportions. It can be said that I am also responsible for this. However, it cannot be said that I did not warn you. I cannot dispute anyone's right to think differently, but the material truth is not as Pankov indicated.

Afterward the LCY Central Committee unanimously adopted the report of its working group regarding the initiative of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee for releasing Petar Matic from membership in the top party forum. As a result of that, conditions for deciding on Matic's release from membership were met, and members of the LCY Central Committee voted on this by a secret ballot during a break.

Ljubomir Varoslija, in his capacity as chairman of the voting commission, acquainted members of the Central Committee with the results of the voting on the proposal to relieve of their duties as memebrs of the LCY Central Committee Mato Andric, Hrvoje Istuk, Milanko Renovica, and Nikola Stojanovic.

Of the 165 members of the LCY Central Committee—a number established at the 13th LCY Congress—128 voted.

Some 104 members voted to relieve Mato Andric of his duties, with 23 voting against and 1 ballot paper was invalid.

Some 104 members voted to relieve Milanko Renovica of his duties, with 24 voting against. Some 110 Central Committee members voted to relieve Hrvoje Istuk of his duties, with 18 votes against, while 97 members voted to relieve Nikola Stojanovic of his duties, with 31 voting against.

As regards Petar Matic, 76 members voted for him to be relieved of his duties, with 52 voting against.

Thus on the basis of the statute, Varoslija said, four comrades from Bosnia-Hercegovina have been relieved of their duties in the LCY Central Committee, while Petar Matic has not been relieved of his duties because fewer than half of the Central Committee members voted for him to be relieved of them.

Following the announcement of the outcome of the voting, Petar Matic said that he is resiging from the LCY Central Committee and that he will tender his written resignation later. Suvar went on to note that there could be no voting on the resignations, and placed on the agenda the resignation of the members of the Montenegro LC from the LCY Central Committee. He mentioned that discussion about these resignations had been postponed at the 20th session in order to give the Montenegro LC Central Committee an opportunity to talk to those who had resigned. In the meantime, Milomar Grbovic, Ahmet Mehovic, Radoslav Bulajic, and Milutin Vukasinovic withdrew their resignations.

Summing up the current situation, Suvar said that the following members of the LCY Central Committee from Montengro had resigned: For health and other reasons—Radovan Radonjic and Mihajlo Lalic; Suco Bandic and Mladjen Vukovic, both workers from direct production, resigned in order to facilitate faster cadre renewal. [passage omitted]

Having noted that the resignations were well-intended, Suvar asked if it is really necessary for the Central Committee to part with those of its members who come from direct production. The renewal in the LCY organs—and changes in its commissions to be carried out shortly—are an integral part of a wider process of democratization in cadre policy, and of a renewal on democratic principles, which imply several candidates and secret ballot. This will help to strengthen the LCY's ideopolitical unity and its unity in action, as well as enhance the reputation and efficiency of the LCY Central Committee's work.

An important step has been made in separating party and state functions, Suvar said. He stressed that we can hope that the renewed Central Committee will successfully carry out its tasks in the period up to the 14th LCY Congress, due to be held by the end of this year.

The people leaving the Central Committee are the people who have worked in the LC organs for a long time, and who have made a great contribution to the development of our movement. Suvar thanked them, and at the same time expressed the hope that they will continue to be active and take part in the reform of the LC and other reforms in society.

Suvar added that in the course of the session, Raif Dizdarevic had submitted his written resignation. We thought that his resignation should be postponed until the next session, but he insisted on it being announced today, Suvar said.

Raif Dizdarevic asked to address the meeting, according to statutory rights, to explain his move.

Dizdarevic disclosed two reasons as to why he has not tendered his resignation at an earlier point. The first, as he put it, is the fact that the Yugoslav Presidency suggested to him to refrain form doing this as it might echo with things that would have had nothing to do with the true reasons considering the duty (president of the Presidency) he now executes.

According to Dizdarevic, a similar opinion was shared by the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee which suggested that he wait with his resignation until the issue of the resignation of the other LCY Central Committee members in the SFRY Presidency is made clear. Dizdarevic recalled that so far four members of the state presidency have already tendered their resignation from membership of the top party forum: Stane Dolanc, Lazar Mojsov, Sinan Hasani, and Radovan Vlajkovic.

Stressing that in the meantime the criteria for cadre renewal—those about separating party from state functions—have not changed, Dizdarevic insisted on being and asked to be relieved from membership in the LCY Central Committee. In line with this he suggested that as soon as today, of the 19 candidates from the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC, the LCY Central Committee should elect 1 candidate more than the originally envisaged number of 10 in order to replace him as a member of the LCY Central Committee.

The resignation of Raif Dizdarevic has no precedent in our recent history: He will be the first president of the Yugoslav Presidency (he will have been in the post for less than 3 months) who will not at the same time be a member of the LCY Central Committee.

The first to react to Dizdarevic's remarks was Abdulah Mutapcic who recalled that at the 21st session on 9 December 1988 the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee concluded that Dizdarevic should remain a member of the LCY Central Committee until a position is adopted about the other members of the SFRY Presidency. Also, at sessions in the LCY Central Committee Presidium there was a discussion about having a different approach from the adopted criteria in the case of members of the SFRY Presidency since their terms are about to lapse anyway. Mutapcic believes that Raif Dizdarevic should continue to be a member of the LCY Central Committee and he appealed to Dizdarevic to withdraw his resignation.

Stipe Suvar stated that the possibility was discussed of relaxing the adopted criteria since the term of the SFRY Presidency terminates in May and particularly since nobody among its members, according to up-to-date information, intends to be nominated again. He informed the LCY Central Committee that Josip Vrhovec has informed the Croat LC Central Committee that his resignation from the LCY Central Committee is also an open question if the criteria are to be applied to all members of the SFRY Presidency. Suvar then said that the Presidency had in mind the fact that the deadline for the separation of functions was, as was determined at 17th session, 1 and ½ months and it has been 3 months since then.

Said Mujkanovic asked Raif Dizdarevic to withdraw his resignation to help this Central Committee with his experience and work, particularly in the preparations for the forthcoming LCY Congress. Ali Sabani and Dara Krnetic also supported this demand.

Taking part in the discussion, Dobrivoje Vidic maintained that the principle of separation between state and party should not be taken literally. In his opinion, there are also other ways to prevent the LCY from mixing into state affairs. What we are doing now is pointless, Vidic said. He illustrated his thesis by a set of examples from around the world—Willy Brandt, Margaret Thatcher, and Mikhail Gorbachev—who did not resign their party functions once they were elected head of government or a head of state.

Suvar noted that according to the amendments to the SFRY Constitution, from May this year the president of the LCY Presidium will no longer be an ex-officio member of the SFRY Presidency.

Raif Dizdarevic again asked to speak and went on to note that the Central Committee has already accepted the cadre renewal criteria and that these have been applied in the cases of other members of the SFRY Presidency. I do not wish to be an exception, Dizdarevic stressed, adding that if the adopted criteria are still in force they should be applied to all involved. We know from our experience what exceptions may lead to. I do not want to be one.

So, if the criteria are still in force I plead with you to accept my resignation. If, however, the criteria have changed, Dizdarevic said, they should be changed for everyone else.

Stipe Suvar went on to stress that on the eve of the 21st session the following had tendered their resignations: Mihajlo Lalic, Radovan Radonjic, Suco Bandic, Mladjen Vukovic, Petar Matic, and Raif Dizdarevic resigned during today's session. He added that the LCY Central Committee had accepted these resignations and that it would not consider them in any special way.

The LCY Central Committee continued its session by unanimously adopting a decision on the changes in the composition of the LCY Central Committee and of its Presidium. The list of candidates for new members of the LCY Central Committee, proposed by the republican and provincial party leaderships, was also unanimously adopted.

Stipe Suvar noted that the party statute allowed a maximum of one third of members to be changed in the LCY Central Committee in the period between two party congresses. Since the 13th congress, a total of 44 LCY Central Committee members, including the 33 to be elected today, have been changed. This is eight less than one third of the LCY Central Committee elected at the 13th congress.

Out of the 33 members of the LCY Central Committee to be replaced at today's session, 11 are from the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC, 6 from Montenegro, 2 from Slovenia, 5 from Macedonia, 2 from Crotia, 2 from Serbia, 4 from Kosovo, and 1 from Vojvodina. All the lists include more candidates than will be elected.

Suvar said that five new members will be elected to the LCY Central Committee Presidium: one each from Slovenia, Vojvodina, and Kosovo, and two from Montenegro. The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee suggested that the election of the member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from Bosnia-Hercegovina be postponed until the next LCY Central Committee Plenum as it has to be decided which, out of the proposed candidates from this republican party organization, will be elected to the LCY Central Committee.

Before a secret vote was taken to elect new members of the LCY Central Committee, the head of the Electoral Commission, Ugljesa Uzelac, stressed that the candidates with the largest number of votes would be elected. This number must be over half the votes taken. If in the first round of voting the Central Committee fails to elect the necessary number of LCY Central Committee members from individual republics or provinces, the voting will be repeated to elect as many members of the LCY Central Committee as necessary to complete its composition. Voting can be repeated twice, and if after that the necessary number of members of the LCY Central Committee is not elected, the relevant republican and provincial LC committees will select new candidates for members of the LCY Central Committee, whose election would be considered at the next LCY Central Committee session.

He also mentioned that following the election of new members of the LCY Central Committee, the Central Committee will proceed to elect five new members of its Presidium. [passage omitted]

The third item on the agenda started with information on preparations for the 14th LCY Congress and proposed working conclusion. Stipe Suvar explained the information by noting that the LCY Central Committee Presidium adopted it on 14 February, and recalled that the proposal for the next congress to be convened was made at the 17th LCY Central Committee session. Meanwhile, demand for an extraordinary congress to be held was made by the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC. Central committees of the LC's of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Slovenia, and Macedonia expressed their preference for an early party congress. This proposal, he noted, was adopted at the last LCY Central Committee session. It is certain, Suvar stressed, that the main topic of the next congress will be reform of the LC within the framework established by our society as socialist, federative, democratic, and self-managing. Republican and provincial committees and the LCY Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army should submit their concrete opinions and proposals about its content by 1 March this year. This congress should provide an ideopolitical platform for drafting a new SFRY Constitution. In accordance with Article 110 of the LCY statute, the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee should also submit a concrete proposal on an agenda, a platform, and content of the next LCY Congress.

Suvar then suggested that no discussion be conducted about the next congress at today's LCY Central Committee session, but that this be done in early March. The proposal was adopted without discussion.

The president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium noted that there are rumors that the date of the 14th congress is already established. The date when the congress will be held, Suvar explained, was mentioned in a working noncommital agreement between the secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and secretaries of the presidiums of republican and provincial committees. However, the date of the congress can be set only by this Central Committee.

After introductory remarks by Stipe Suvar, the information and proposals were adopted without discussion. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee today passed a decision providing for uniform thresholds for calculating the LCY membership fee. According to Ljubomir Varoslija the decision was passed in response to the calls by the LC members for a single method of calculating the membership fee and for reducing it in real terms. In passing the decision, the Central Committee bore in mind the LCY principle of self-financing and the need to safeguard its independence, authority, and reputation in society.

In the future the membership fee will be calculated on the basis of average personal income for each republic and province. The lowest membership fee to the tune of 100 dinars will be paid by those LCY members whose income does not exceed one-quarter of the republic's average personal income. Those members whose income is in the range between 25 and 100 percent of the average income will pay a membership fee of between 0.3 and 1 percent of that income; those earning between 2 and 2 and ½ times the average personal income will pay a membership fee of 2 percent of their income. All LCY members whose income exceeds 3 and ½ times average personal income will pay a membership fee at the rate of 2.5 percent of their income.

This decision provides for any changes in the size of personal incomes in the republics. In this way the LCY Central Committee will not have to make new decision on the fee every year.

We cannot allow the size of the membership fee to be the reason for leaving the LC, Varoslija said. Strain must be taken off those who are most strapped but they cannot be relieved from this obligation. We all agree that the membership fee is each member's material duty and that it cannot be paid on voluntary principle or that individual basic LC organizations should have the right to decide how big it will be.

Pero Skrlin, chairman of the supervisory commission, said that there is growing interest among the rank and file in the way the membership fee revenue is being spent and the way the LCY's not insignificant property is being administered. [passage omitted]

The supervisory commission calls on the LC leaders to bear in mind the demands for reducing the size of the professional cadre at all levels.

Copies of Skrlin's report will be distributed among the LCY Central Committee members to enable them to prepare for discussion on some of the issues raised. Proposing this, Suvar said that there are 2,000 elected officials to 2 million LCY members.

The session continued with a discussion of other business, during which Snezana Zlatar asked about the LCY Central Committee Presidium's standpoint on the foundation of political alliances and parties in some parts of the country. In her view, some of these processes are contrary to constitutional and legal norms and have given rise to great dilemmas throughout the country.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium, Stipe Suvar said, adheres to the standpoint adopted at the first LCY conference to the effect that Yugoslavia advocates self-management based political pluralism. We in the LC must, nevertheless, carry out a profound discusion on political pluralism. A conclusion to this effect was also adopted at the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee.

Under this operative program of implementing the conclusions to the 20th session, Suvar said, the presidiums of the republican and provincial party organizations and the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army should urgently consider the problem of political pluralism. The other topical issue to be discussed shortly is nationalism, intranational relations, and relations in the federation. All these topics will find themselves on the LCY Central Committee's agenda in due course.

Suvar also announced that political pluralism would be discussed by the LCY Central Committee Presidium, most likely before the next session of the LCY Central Committee which will be devoted to a reform in the LCY. There can be no debate on transformations in the LCY without a clearcut view on political pluralism.

Not a single political party has been founded in Yugoslavia yet, Suvar said. A founding meeting was held in Ljubljana yesterday of the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance which, however, accepted to function within the Socialist Alliance.

The session continued with the announcement of the outcome of the repeated vote. In the second round of voting, Enver Sehovic, who received 65 votes, was elected member of the LCY Central Committee from the Croat LC. Since in this round two candidates from the Serbian LC, Zoran Todorovic and Petar Skundric, received an equal number of votes (55) the vote was repeated again. After the third round of voting Petar Skundric was elected the second new member of the LCY Central Committee from the Serbian LC.

This session of the LCY Central Committee ended at 1830 [1730 GMT].

Excerpts of 'The Satanic Verses' Published

LD2002131788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1040 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 20 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA today started exclusively publishing excerpts from the controversial novel "The Satanic Verses" by well-known British writer of Indian origin Salman Rushdie.

BORBA introduced the first excerpt, the beginning of the book, by recalling that the novel had attracted a large readership all across the world, but also the condemnation of extremist Islamic circles, who claim that the writer insulted Islam, the Prophet Muhammad and the Koran. The paper adds that the polemic 'For or Against' the novel last week spread to the whole world, after Iranian religious leader Ayatollah Khomeyni condemned Rushdie to death for "blasphemy" and promised any believer who carried out the death sentence a life in paradise in the next world.

BORBA writes that Rushdie is known to the Yugoslav public for his book "The Children of Midnight," for which in 1981 he won Britain's highest literary award, the Booker prize.

Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i Visits

Arrives for Talks

LD2002114988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1056 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, arrived today for a 3-day official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the SFRY Presidency.

At Belgrade airport, the Iranian head of state was given a formal welcome with military honors. President Khamene'i's entourage includes, among others, Velayati, minister of foreign affairs; Iravani, minister of economic and financial affairs; several deputy ministers of government economic departments; and other personalities.

Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i was welcomed by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of foreign affairs; Spasoje

Medenica, vice president of the SFRY Assembly; Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary of national defense; Svetozar Rikanovic, federal secretary of finance; Vukoje Bulatovic, member of the Serb Presidency; Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the Belgrade City Assembly; and others.

The official Yugoslav-Iranian talks will begin this afternoon in the Palace of the Federation in Novi Beograd. Dizdarevic and Khamene'i are expected to focus most of their attention on chances to substantially improve economic and other forms of cooperation between the two countries, nonaligned countries' activity in the preparations for the ninth summit in Belgrade, and on peace negotiations between Iraq and Iran.

Meets With Dizdarevic

AU2002190889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] The first round of Yugoslav-Iranian talks on the highest level were held this afternoon. Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i held talks in which they exchanged substantive and detailed views on the development of bilateral relations and the prospects for their further advance.

These bilateral relations were the central topic of the talks held today. The two sides also held substantive talks on international issues, paying particular reference to the situation in the Gulf, the Middle East, and Washington.

They also held talks on the place and role of the Nonaligned Movement and preparations for the ninth nonaligned summit. The Iranian president particularly expressed the wish to expand economic cooperation with Yugoslavia, and stated that the concluded business deals for this year, worth some $400 million, could have been even greater.

Further on Meeting

LD2002224489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2036 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic and Iranian head of state 'Ali Khamene'i stressed this evening the two countries' readiness to develop their mutual relations, particularly economic relations.

The first talks of Dizdarevic, Khamene'i, and their assistants, which took place in the Palace of the Federation in New Belgrade, focused mainly on questions of bilateral cooperation, while there was discussion of the international topics of the activity of the Nonaligned Movement in the prelude to the summit in Belgrade, the peace talks between Iran and Iraq, and the situation in the Middle East and Afghanistan.

The exchange of views at the highest level confirmed that the good results of comprehensive cooperation to date, achieved over the last 10 years since the victory of the revolution in Iran, are a basis on which more can be built, and that the period of the renewal and development of Iran, after 8 years of war with Iraq, offers far greater scope for the achievement of these aspirations.

There was a positive assessment of the work of the recent meeting of the mixed committee in Belgrade, after which as many as about 30 economic agreements were concluded. Khamene'i and Dizdarevic were specific and explicit: In Iran, a time is coming into being which is opening the door for the significantly broader participation of Yugoslav work organizations in the realization of developmental and other projects in this Gulf country. The present visit by the Iranian president serves as a strong impetus to future, more successful, economic, and all other types of bilateral cooperation.

The two sides also noted with satisfaction that trade relations, which in the eighties increased by several times, have also been given an impetus. In 1988 bilateral trade amounted to just more than $300 million. This year it is expected to be worth $400 million.

Raif Dizdarevic noted that relations between Yugoslavia and Iran had experienced difficulties (during the war between Baghdad and Tehran), but that in that way they were given an opportunity to stand the test of time and maintain the spirit of friendship.

During Khamene'i's 3-day visit to Yugoslavia, separate talks will also be conducted on some more specific issues of economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation. They will be conducted by heads of the relevant ministries of high-ranking officials from individual ministries. President Khamene'i's entourage consists of 29 officials from several Iranian ministries.

Cooperation between Yugoslavia and Iran within the framework of both the Nonaligned Movement and the United nations is also good, Dizdarevic and Khamene'i said. The host, Raif Dizdarevic, spoke in greater detail about all that is being done to make the ninth summit in Belgrade not only successful, but also a crucial point in the efforts to modernize the method of the movement's work and adapt it to the imperatives of present-day trends on the international scene. Khamene'i wished to stress Iran's adherence to the movement and Tehran's intention to continue to play an active part in the activities of the movement, to whose role, according to President Khamene'i, Iran attaches the utmost importance.

Dizdarevic proposed two main directions of the movement's activities: the efforts to ensure that all countries participate on an equal footing in changing international economic and political relations. He also invited Iran to cooperate closely with Yugoslavia in the preparations for the summit of the nonaligned countries in September. 'Ali Khamene'i accepted this invitation with obvious satisfaction.

Khamene'i also informed Dizdarevic about Iran's own perception of some difficulties in negotiations with Iraq. He said that Iran is prepared to continue to take part in and contribute to the successful outcome of the negotiations. Dizdarevic welcomed Iran's decision to accept UN Security Council Resolution 598 and stressed that the SFRY has always advocated negotiations as the only solution to the Iraq-Iran conflict.

Dizdarevic and Khamene'i called for efforts to defuse tension in Afghanistan and submit their views of the solutions to the prolonged crisis in the Near East.

The extensive and meaningful dialogue between the two presidents was conducted in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual respect, and note was taken of similarities, specific features of, and even differences in views on some international issues.

Toasts Exchanged

LD2102004489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2210 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has hosted a formal dinner in the Palace of the Federation in honor of 'Ali Khamene'i, head of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Greeting the respected guest, President Dizdarevic expressed the desire for "strengthening the dialogue between the two friendly, independent, and nonaligned countries, which aspire to freedom and peace, equality and cooperation, security for themselves and the world."

Iran is not only one of our most significant partners, but also a country which wants, as we also do, more meaningful forms of mutual cooperation in economic and other spheres, a friendly country which knows the potential of Yugoslav organizations to cooperate in line with modern market-oriented and technological demands, a friend which will know best to evaluate the readiness of the Yugoslav economy for joining the programs of postwar restoration and construction on which the Iranian people's energies are focused.

We have already achieved a great deal, but we can do even more through mutual efforts, President Raif Dizdarevic said.

Acclaiming Iran's decision to accept UN Resolution 598 as a brave and wise act, Dizdarevic noted that it is "the interest of all the world community that, in the framework outlined by the United Nations, the peace process is now speeded up and completed. As a member of the Security Council and the future presiding member of the Nonaligned Movement, Yugoslavia will be ready to contribute to this process in the future as much as possible in the same way as when it explicitly and clearly advocated an early end to the war in a peaceful way and on the grounds which should ensure a mutually acceptable, just, honorable, and lasting solution.

It is understandable that the nonaligned countries, because of the very essence of their international commitments and policies, are expected to settle their extremes in this way. I believe that by such processes, the Islamic Republic of Iran will continue to make valuable contributions.

President Dizdarevic noted that Yugoslavia appreciates the fact that President Khamene'i has chosen it for the first leg of his European tour.

We also very much value, he said, "the fact that your visit has taken place virtually at the very beginning of the realization of our program of consultations on the preparations for the ninth summit. After all, in these new conditions and the changes that are taking place, the forthcoming summit conference will have to be—whether we like it or not—different from the other ones, just as this time is different from previous periods. To be sure, the summit will be an opportunity, I would say, for a historical review of the activities of the movement and of the strategy of its action in the long term.

"After all," Dizdarevic concluded, "in every respect this is a new era: a time in which both Yugoslavia and Iran, consistently following the original principles and goals of nonalignment, can contribute through cooperation, maybe more than ever, to the realization of precisely these goals.

"Expressing once again my satisfaction with your visit, allow me on behalf of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities to sincerely wish prosperity to the friendly Iranian people and to you, respected President, and to all our esteemed guests, a pleasant stay in Yugoslavia."

Replying to the greetings of his host, 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, first of all paid tribute to President Tito and recalled his exceptional role in the achievments of the policy of nonalignment. Khamene'i noted the essential improvement in relations with Yugoslavia in the economic sphere following the victory of the Islamic revolution. Nevertheless, he observed that the possibilities of the two countries have only been partially exploited.

The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Khamene'i said, lays emphasis on "respect for progressive, independent and developing countries belonging to the Third World.

"The Islamic Republic of Iran joined the Nonaligned Movement only a few months after the founding of the islamic Republic. We did not join this movement for political considerations, but from ideological principles.

"The SFRY will host the ninth nonaligned summit in the near future, something which will in any case influence the growth of the importance of Yugoslavia and give it a very sensitive role. If this summit succeeds, having undertaken certain initiatives in removing the weaknesses and obvious inconsistencies in international law and thus opening up new perspectives, the name of Yugoslavia and its leaders will once again be linked to the movement and will remain forever in history," the Iranian president stressed.

At this point in history, Khamene'i recalled, the world is facing serious threats from biological, chemical, and other lethal weapons. The Nonaligned Movement and its summit conference, he concluded, cannot remain indifferent to this phenomenon.

Any nation which today doubts the cultural criteria of the West and dares to set out on the road of an independent cultural development based on its own traditions and religious and cultural values will, without doubt, the Iranian president observed, become the target of an unscrupulous and violent propaganda invasion by the same people who advocate free choice.

Speaking about the history of the Iranian revolution, Khamene'i said that various military, economic, and political plots were hatched against it by the West or the East so that enormous pressure might be brought to bear on a great and ancient people, who only sought independence, freedom, and human dignity.

He also recalled that the 8-year war destroyed and laid waste part of the country, but that not one of these plots and pressures was able to shake the will of the great revolutionary nation, and that at this point in human history, revolutionary Iran is firmly and resolutely following the goals of freedom and independence, and has already embarked upon "a comprehensive era of renewal."

Speaking about the relations between Iran and Yugoslavia, he expressed the expectation that the further exchange of views and the increased number of contracts and reciprocal visits, as well as initiatives and worthwhile decisions, will expand the scope of relations and cooperation between the two countries.

Journeys to Sarajevo

LD2102104789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1009 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, 'Ali Khamene'i, who since yesterday has (?been) on an official visit to our country, arrived this morning on a 1-day visit to the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The eminent guest and his colleagues were met at Sarajevo airport by Dr Nikola Filipovic, president of the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina; Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly President Zlatan Karavadic; Republic Executive Council President Marko Ceranic; and other republic leaders. Velayati, minister of foreign affairs; Iravani, minister of economic affairs and finance; and other officials also arrived with 'Ali Khamene'i.

The Iranian guests will hold talks with the president of the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and will also visit some cultural and historical monuments and work organizations.

Suvar To Meet Hungarian Party Leader Grosz

LD1802212989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1738 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Feb (TANJUG)—President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency Stipe Suvar and General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee Karoly Grosz will meet later this month, the LCY Central Committee's department for international cooperation announced here Saturday evening.

The meeting will take place in a town on the Yugoslav-Hungarian border.

Dolanc Arrives in Tokyo for Hirohito Funeral

LD1902132489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1841 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Tokyo, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—Stane Dolanc, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, arrived in Tokyo today, where he will represent Yugoslavia at Emperor Hirohito's funeral on the 24 February.

Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno welcomed Dolanc at Tokyo Airport. [passage omitted]

Italian Spy Suspects Named; One Living in SFRY

LD1902130889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1105 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Text] Rome, Feb 19 (TANJUG)—Two persons, suspected of spying for the Soviet Union and revealing secret military technology, have been arrested in Italy. One of them is Giorgio Stancic, 42, an Italian citizen living in Yugoslavia and the other Natalino Francalanci, 51, from Pisa.

The arrests, which still have not been officially announced by the Italian police and state security, are allegedly to help reveal a much wider network of military spies, who are believed to work on Italian territory.

The Italian press today stated that the information the Soviet intelligence agency KGB was interested in regarded the electronic measurement of activities on the battlefield and special instruments, which are produced in plants in Trieste and La Spezia near Genoa.

Giorgio Stancic was arrested two days ago while crossing the border to return to his home in Yugoslavia. Stancic went to Italy every day, since he worked in the Trieste plant of military equipment Iret. It was precisely the electronic equipment produced in the Iret plant that the spies were after, it is claimed in Italy.

Natalino Francalanci, a fur trader, often visited East European countries.

FEC Reacts to Possible FRG Visa Introduction

AU1702154389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] The Yugoslav Government has expressed dissatisfaction at the possibility of the FRG introducing visas for Yugoslavs and stressed its readiness to participate in joint efforts to eliminate the causes of certain difficulties in relations between the two countries.

Yugoslavia has not given any reason in any of its actions which would justify the possible one-sided suspension of the agreement between our country and the FRG on the scrapping of visas. Such a move would not be in the interests of the development of bilateral relations, the FEC assessed.

This would also not be in line with the current processes in Europe and the achievements of the CSCE which are directed toward the opening up and strengthening of cooperation under the conditions of the increasingly broad and free exchange of material goods and spiritual values, as well as the circulation of people.

Trade Delegation To Discuss Cooperation in Seoul

SK1602063189 Seoul YONHAP in English 0613 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Seoul, Feb. 16 (YONHAP)—A 25-member Yugoslavian trade mission is to arrive in Seoul Feb. 25 for a five-day visit at the invitation of the state-run Korea Trade Promotion Corp. (Kotra).

While in Seoul, the Yugoslavians will discuss business cooperation with Kotra, hold seminars to explain their nation's economy and trade, a Kotra official said Thursday.

Headed by Milan Pavic, chairman of the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy (YCE), the trade mission includes seven YCE officials and two bankers.

The seminars Feb. 27 will help Korean businessmen understand Yugoslavia's economic related laws on foreign investment and seek ways of cooperation with Korean firms in such fields as engineering, tourism, finances and joint advance into foreign countries, the official said.

The Yugoslavians will investigate imports of sportswear and VTR tapes from Kolong International Corp. and Samsung Co.: and exports of cigarette filter tips to Ssangyong Corp.

The YCE delegation will also sound out direct sale of Yugoslavian commodities by the Lotte department store and settlement of payments between the two countries' banks.

Yugoslavia and South Korea, which have no diplomatic ties, exchanged trade offices last October.

Presidency Announcement on Combating Inflation

LD1702091289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1622 GMT 16 Feb 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 16 (TANJUG)—The measures of the economic reform, above all liberalization of imports, must be granted precedence in the fight to halt (?inflation), which last year reached a figure of 251 per cent, the Yugoslav Presidency said in an announcement today.

On the basis of an assessment of data provided by the federal government, the Presidency noted that the high rate of inflation in the country was devaluing all positive economic trends.

The uncontrolled price spiral, which does not have any economic justification, not only jeopardizes the Yugoslav population's standard of living but also brings into question the realization of the economic reform, the Presidency said.

(?Late in) 1988 and in January of this year all parts of Yugoslavia recorded some growth in industrial production, exports were increased, foreign currency revenue (?from) tourism for the first time surpassed two billion dollars in value, and foreign currency inflow from remittances sent to the country by Yugoslavs working abroad also grew.

The dramatic growth of prices in Yugoslavia is in the view of the Yugoslav Presidency mainly responsible for the fact that the economy fas fallen short of expectations.

The Presidency called on all economic factors in the country to make maximal efforts in the fight against the unjustified price hikes.

The Presidency also appealed to all Yugoslavs to "declare war" on price rises through the trade unions and the country's largest socio-political organization, the Socialist Alliance, as that would be the only way to implement the economic reform, which is the country's only road out of the crisis.

Slovene Body Calls for Amnesties in Jansa Trial

AU1802162689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 89 p 5

[D. Draskovic report: "The Deed Easier Than Etiquette"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 15 Feb—At its 10th session, the commission for examining the circumstances and consequences of the trial of four men (Borstner, Jansa, Tasic, and Zavrl) formulated a report which it will present to the delegates of all three chambers of the Slovene Assembly on 22 February. The members of the commission, which is made up of delegates from all three chambers and which is headed by Aleksander Ravnikar, cite in the report that they were briefed on the contents of the military order of the Ljubljana Army District of the 8 January 1988. It is stated that this order also relates to the defense tasks and self-defense measures in the Yugoslav People's Army and seems to be contentious only on two points.

The commission also believes that some decisions from the aforementioned document are illegal and at variance with the principles of a lawful state and are also in contradiction to the spirit of the Constitution of our democratic socialist society. It is stated that for objective reasons, the commission was unable to examine all the relevant facts on the basis of which the military order was issued, as well as what was undertaken on the basis of the decisions in this document.

Bearing in mind the fact that the illegal removal of this document was the actual reason for the criminal proceedings, the commission is proposing to the Slovene Assembly that it adopt the following conclusions: The SFRY Presidency should put the document at the disposal of the Slovene Assembly and allow it to openly publish the fifth and sixth points of the document; the delegates of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber from Slovenia in the Committee for National Defense and other organs should brief the competent members on the contents of these points and seek the facts and documents on the basis of which the military order was issued. It is proposed that a group of delegates, with the cooperation of specialist and scientific institutions, and the Judicial Legal Commission of the republican assembly, examine the law on national defense and regulations concerning the role of the Yugoslav People's Army in the system of social self-protection.

Because of the delicate nature of the aforementioned questions, the commission calls on everyone in Slovenia to look at them all in a patient, cultured, legal, and ethical way and to refrain from condemnation and assessments until everything is examined in detail and everyone has given their view. The Yugoslav public is also asked to carefully analyze the above mentioned questions and not to get involved in advance in the name-calling and criticism which has been present in reviews of the work of the commission so far.

It is indisputable that the trial arose because of some punishable acts, but no specific damage was done. This is a question of an abstract danger, so the SFRY Presidency is called upon to use all legal possibilities and excuse the accused from serving their sentences; that is, to make a decision on their amnesty. It is stated in the commission's conclusion that this act would receive a positive reaction from the Yugoslav public and would be a humane and politically wise deed.

Serbia's Stambuk Comments on Kosovo, Pluralism

PM1602114089 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 6 Feb 89 p 8

[Interview with Vladimir Stambuk, executive secretary of the Serbian LC, by Gabriel Bertinetto; date, place not given]

[Text] Belgrade—[Bertinetto] At the latest Central Committee plenum the Armed Forces representatives urged party leaders to end their controversies, reminding them of the military's institutional role in Yugoslavia in defending its territorial integrity and constitutional order. What is your assessment?

[Stambuk] I know that foreign journalists pay close attention to everything Armed Forces officers say in Yugoslavia. But, actually, at the 20th plenum they said nothing new compared to the past. Even 2 years ago former Defense Minister Branko Mamula confronted the party with its grave responsibilities for the mounting crisis. Since then, Armed Forces representatives have simply repeated the same ideas. Actually, if anything new did emerge at the Central Committee session, it was the very harsh criticism of the war veterans associations and the exhortation for them to avoid controversies and splits.

[Bertinetto] Agreed, but is the very fact that the military still regularly issues warnings to the LCY leaders, while the situation grows more complex instead of improving—is this not a worrying sign?

[Stambuk] Listen, a "Polish" scenario is impossible in Yugoslavia for several reasons. First, in Poland there is virtually a single nationality, whereas the multiplicity of peoples in our country would make any military intervention appear to our citizens as an action on behalf of a single side, not the entire country. It must also be kept in mind that the military commands are composed of people who are communists, first and foremost—communists who perform military tasks, not vice versa.

[Bertinetto] Nevertheless the Armed Forces could feel "called on" to take the place of a paralyzed political system to avert the explosion of already strong social contradictions.

[Stambuk] No, the predominant feeling here in Yugoslavia is that nobody wants any such thing. Historically speaking, when the Army was in power between the wars, it prompted only violent nationalistic reactions. A ruling People's Army would be no longer a Yugoslav institution, but a prop for a single part of Yugoslavia.

[Bertinetto] What if they said they were acting on behalf of the Federation, to safeguard it against those wanting to mutilate it?

[Stambuk] A military intervention would be a surgical operation that would kill the patient instead of curing him. A society based on self-management cannot survive a seizure of power by a single component of the system, whether the military or any other. Let us again take Poland as a comparison. It used to have a very centralized political system. I apologize for my brutal simplification, but all that happened was that one master was replaced by another. In our country, however, there is a fabric of counterbalanced bodies and authorities.

[Bertinetto] On the subject of centralism, this is the very charge that is often leveled at you League of Communists of Serbia leaders by comrades in other branches of the party.

[Stambuk] It is a false charge. We do not want a centralized system. Indeed, we want to resolve the crisis by means of more socialism and self-management. However, we want Serbia to be on an equal footing with the other republics, but others do not accept this because they fear that Serbia will become too strong or too important. It is an old story that the Serbs constitute a threat to Yugoslavia. As for economic reform, we were the first to formulate reform plans and proposals for a market economy.

[Bertinetto] Very well, but why then are there so many disputes within the league?

[Stambuk] We disagree with the comrades of Slovenia on one point: political pluralism. It is unnecessary and not unsuited to our system. There are already main splits within the league. If new parties were to emerge, there would be so many local nationalist groups, and the system would become paralyzed.

[Bertinetto] This is a rather major subject of dispute. Are there others?

[Stambuk] We believe that if we want a market economy functioning on a federal scale we must surmount the obstacles that have curbed its development up to this point. For instance, we must have a genuinely Yugoslav monetary policy—not like now, when every state has its own central bank. Another example is fiscal policy. We are not saying that the tax system must be standard throughout federal territory, but there should at least be a shared foundation. The fundamental political problem, however, is the attitude toward Kosovo and Serbia. Those obstructing changes in Yugoslavia are the same people who do not want to resolve Kosovo's problem and who deny Serbia's right to parity with the other republics.

[Bertinetto] Can you explain to me why you Serbian Communist leaders place such persistent emphasis on the Kosovo issue? Even official statistics show that there are neither organized terrorist activities, nor the genocide that some Belgrade newspapers write about. What there is, however, is a very tense situation of constant and potentially explosive conflict between the Albanian and Serbian ethnic communities. So why not call a spade a spade?

[Stambuk] I'll give you an example. When the Red Brigades were kidnapping and killing people in Italy, foreign observers wondered why Rome attached so much importance to the phenomenon. After all, some said, they are only a small group of terrorists. However, the Italian Government and parties deemed it a huge problem, the nation's prime problem—not so much because of what the Red Brigades did as because their existence and activities revealed the weakness of the institutions, the state's inability to rout a small group of armed enemies. Try to look at Kosovo in the same way as you looked at the Red Brigades. Even if it were true—and I dispute it—that Kosovo's problems are not so major, the fact that tensions there have still not lessened ever since 1981—the year of the Albanian counterrevolutionaries' violent demonstrations—demonstrates the inability to resolve not only that problem, but Yugoslavia's other issues as well. Unless that problem is resolved, the country's splits are bound to endure.

SAWP Bodies Propose Presidency Candidates

Kosovo Proposal

LD1802001589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the Kosovo SAWP proposed eight candidates for membership of the SFRY Presidency from this province. They are Remzi Koljgeci, Rahman Morina, Vukasin Jokanovic, Stevan Baljosevic, Bajram Seljmani, Tomislav Sekulic, Nazmi Mustafa, and Sava Komadinic.

It was agreed that before the next session of the Provincial Conference of the Provincial SAWP, which will be held in a few days, the list of candidates be narrowed. The final list of candidates will be established for this responsible office at the nominating conference. The Presidium did not pass judgement about the national structure of candidates for membership of the Presidency.

Macedonia Proposal

LD1702145889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1044 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Skopje, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—Jacov Lazaroski, Gligorie Gogovski, and Petar Gosev are candidates for membership of the SFRY Presidency from the SR of Macedonia.

This list was approved today by the republican conference of the Macedonian SAWP in a secret ballot. The whole conference voted for Jacov Lazaroski, while Gligorie Gogovski and Petar Gosev obtained support with 1 vote against.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Proposal

LD1802115589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1225 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—At today's session in Sarajevo, the republican confernce of the Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP registered Nenad Kecmanovic, Milan Skoro, and Stevo Mirjanic as candidate members of the SFRY Presidency from this republic.

Delegates of the republican conference voted by secret ballot for candidates from a list of 12 candidates. [passage omitted]

The proposal will be submitted to the federal conference for them to state their views on the candidates, and the final election will be held in the Assembly of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina. [passage omitted]

Trepca Miners Stage Strike, Make Demands

AU2102092489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] The miners of the Stari Trg Mine are holding a strike in the pit. They are miners of the first, second, and third shifts of the Trepca mine. The strikers demand that Stipe Suvar, Slobodan Milosevic, and Ali Sukrija come to talk to them.

The strike was started yesterday by the first shift of the miners, who refused food and water. The miners of the third shift joined them last night. First aid teams have been sent to the Stari Trg pits.

The Presidency of Kosovo and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium are in session in Pristina discussing events in the Stari Trg mine.

Strike Spreads

LD2102101289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0933 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—The strike that began at the Stari Trg pit is spreading to other Trepca mines. About 100 workers of the third shift of the Trepca mines Kisnica and Ajvalija have not come out of the pits this morning.

Miners of Albanian nationality at the magnesite mine in Goles also began a strike this morning. Some 200 workers of the first shift have threatened that they will not come out from the mine-shaft until the demands of the Trepca miners are met. The leadership of Lipljan is talking with them, attempting to dissuade them from this stance.

The workers of Balkan [rubber and chemical factory] in Suva Reka also halted production this morning.

New Demands Made

AU2102114289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Text] A general strike is under way in the Trepca Stari Trg mine. This is a completely new form of protesting: Ethnic Albanian miners from all 3 shifts, about 900 of them, have refused to come out of the pit. Their demands are exclusively of a political nature, and on many points identical to demands that were made in the November demonstrations and in strikes held at the beginning of this month.

The miners condition their coming out of the pits with the guarantee that principles of the SFRY Constitution from 1974 will not be changed and that those amendments to the Serbian Constitution, which have still not been coordinated, should remain unchanged. They also demand the list of organizers and instigators of November demonstrations, that Rahman Morina be replaced, and that, as they put it, such a wrong policy toward the Albanian people be stopped. They demand that Stipe Suvar, Slobodan Milosevic, and Ali Sukrija immediately meet with the miners. They also say that all the miners are organizers.

The new demand is that those people who proposed the draft law on pensioning off educational workers in Kosovo be taken into account.

Miners of Goles and Kisnica mines, as well as some of the workers in the Suva Reka Balkan factory, the Trepca factory of car batteries, and the Titova Mitrovica lead metallurgic combine have also started striking and have presented similar demands.

The Kosovo Presidency and the Kosovo LC Central Committee Presidium are holding session in Pristina at the moment, and are discussing this new situation.